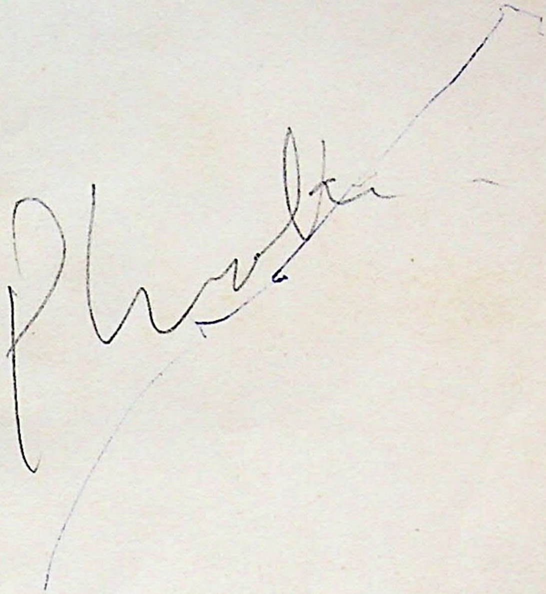


Memorial of Mistakes Converted Kashmir

Memorial of Mistakes

CONVERTED KASHMIR

NARENDER SEHGAL

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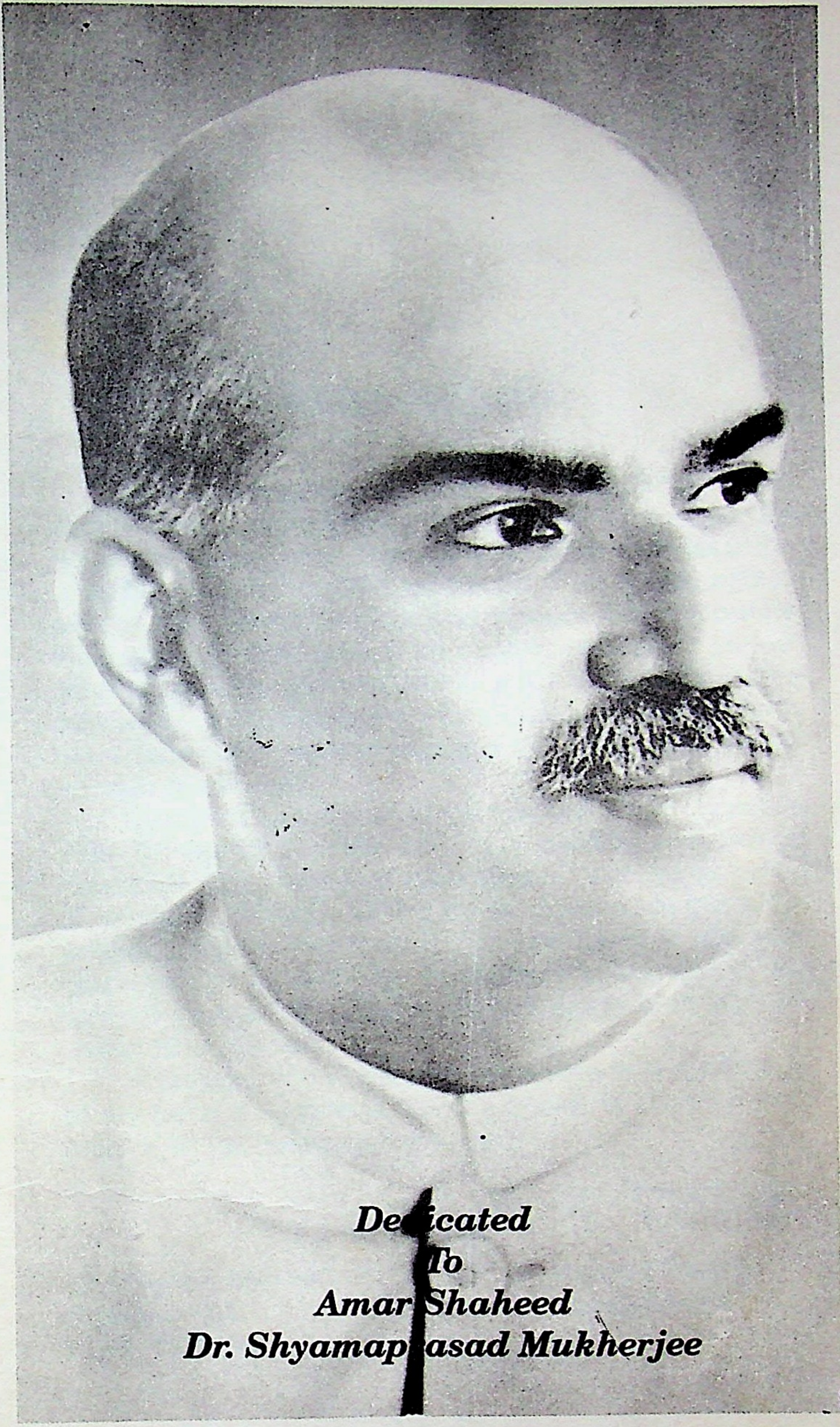
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Dedicated
To
Amar Shaheed
Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee

Asheervada

India is completing 45 years of independence. But since India's independence the problem of Kashmir has remained complicated. This is the result of the mistakes of the so callled "secular" political leadership. It is quite essential to project the historical background of these mistakes before the country's intellectuals. In this context it is hoped ''Memorial of Mistake: Converted Kashmir'' book will make up for the deficiency. It will enable the Hindu Society to understand its weaknesses and mistakes and help it to bring about awakening in the society.

"Hindutva" is the soul of this country. It is an absolute truth. By rejecting it, the country is encircled by myriad miseries. In which ever part the feeling of Hindutva dwindled or Hindus, as minority, turned weak, those areas got either severed from the motherland or the problems of secession cropped up. As such the permanent settlement of the Kashmir problem is surely possible through a strong and united Hindu society.

In the light of this scenario the writing and publication of this book is welcome. It is my prayer to God to grant success to this praiseworthy project.

म. द. देवरस

(Balasahab Deoras)
Sarsanghchalak

Dr. Hedgewar Bhawan
Nagpur-440002
Dated : 30-7-1992

Foreword

Writing of history was not a tradition in India. Reason being its dependence on Vedic and post-Vedic religion and Brahminism. Our ancient literature is rich but sans history. What is religion in it? What are its qualities ? These find full description and definition in the ancient scriptures like contentment, forgiveness, life, purgation knowledge, education, truth and peace etc. There is enough material in upanishadas and scriptures but less of history.

Many of our scholars consider the Puranas as history but the Puranas do not fulfil all the requirements of history. There is description of kings and rulers but is not known when and where they existed. Possibly paper shortage has been the reason for it. Writing on birch was not an easy affair. That is why our entire purpose has remained dependent on the Vedic discourse.

In India Emperor Ashoka got his teachings engraved on stones which are still available in different places. Later Gupta rulers and Bokhrias too ordered stone engravings. All the teachings of Emperor Ashoka, whether engraved on stones or on iron pillars, are in Brahmi, simple and common dialect. But the Gupta rulers used Sanskrit while propagating their sayings. No one had knowledge of Brahmi dialect a hundred years ago. This is the reason that scholars of that period remained entangled in the illusions connected with the dialect. During that period western scholars had started coming to India. They would ask our scholars about the dialect. Their queries would remain almost without an answer. They started research and found the key to Brahmi dialect. Engravings on stones and iron pillars were deciphered and they revealed history. Similarly the history of Gupta rulers is packed on the stone engravings. Whatever history is recorded on those engravings has paved a way for writing history of the middle ages.

There has been meagre research on the Puranas. Some work has been done but no research on history in them. Historians have remained indifferent towards them.

Rajtarangani is one such book in Sanskrit which has all the ingredients of history. It has history and a description of the periods of different kings and rulers. Each chapter carries a reference of "Kashmir, Mahabharata, Champak, Prabhu Butta". Kalhana had started writing Rajtarangani in 1147 and completed it in two years. Kalhana may have received help from his father, Champak, who was the Prime Minister. He has mentioned the names of the books used as reference material for completing the book. He had also studied thoroughly Mahabharata and Ramayana. At that time there were 11 books connected with the history of Kashmir and it appears that he had read some of them. These include "History of Kashmir" written by Suvrat, "Nripavali" of Hemendra and "Parthivavli" written by Helaraj. These three books are not available these days. It seems he had studied thoroughly Neelmat Puran. Besides this, Kalhana used stone engravings, copper plates, documents available in temples. He has given description of ancient edicts, manuscripts and coins. There is reference to folk tales also in the book. This way Rajtarangani is a book of history. Kalhana's great work cannot be underestimated.

After Kalhana Joanraj wrote history in 1150. In it there is scanty reference to Kalhana. In addition to this he wrote some books in which names of Muslim rulers and their work find description.

As far writing of history in Jammu is concerned nobody had written history against the Government. Yes, Kahan Singh Baleria wrote history of Jammu rulers which was based on the lineage charts the courtiers possessed. But this does not give evidence of history. After this Hashmatullah too wrote history. Some 20 years ago Editor-owner of an Urdu weekly "Chaand" Narsimh Das Nargis wrote a voluminous book on history in Urdu. This book was more voluminous than others. Besides this, K.M. Panikar's Gulab Singh, and Saligrem's Gulab Singh are worth reading. There have been some attempts at writing of history but the history of Jammu and Kashmir has many

controversies and illusions which await solution. A reference to these is carried in the "Converted Kashmir" book and the readers will see it. One thing deserves special mention. This pertains to autobiographies written by some politicians which, no doubt, carry some historical facts and data but have generated many controversies.

Many learned people ask why there has been major conversion in Kashmir when in rest of India some conversions have taken place. Mr. Narender Sehgal explains the genesis of it. It is one such question which needs explanation.

The importance of this historical book can be judged and evaluated by the experts on history. In fact foreigners have played an important role in the writing of India's history. Among them are Max Muller, Keith, Macnold and others who have worked in this field but their attempt has been that they did not consider India's civilisation more ancient than Egypt and other countries. Max Muller kicked up a controversy by writing that the Rig Veda belonged to the period 800 years before Christ. But when names of Indra (lord of deities), Marut (lord of wind), Ashwani Kumar (son of the Sun) and Varuna(son of Kashyap) deities were found engraved on the iron pillar excavated in Asia Minor. Max Muller accepted his mistake. The reason being that foreign experts had traced the date of the pillar to 1500 B.C. All these four deities belonged to the Vedic period.

It is a matter of distress that during the British rule books written by foreign authors were taught in schools, colleges and universities in India. But even after the independence these books were not excluded from the curriculum. In these books importance has been given to invasions of Huns, Syrians, Parshians and Greeks on India and an attempt has been made to prove that right from the beginning India had remained under foreign rule. The names of Hun rulers, Meharkul and Torman, have found special mention. Foreign scholars have made a scanty mention of big defeat Meharkul faced in the hands of Baladitya Yashovardhan and Hun ruler Torman having taken shelter in Kashmir. Kalhana, in his Rajtarangani,

has given a detailed account of it. Readers will find a detailed account of it in this book, 'Converted Kashmir'.

The major reason for the current serious problem in Kashmir has been the separate status for the state. The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir had acceded to India on October 26,1947 without any condition which was as wise a step as other rulers and Nawabs had taken. Why then accession was declared temporary at that stage? The Government of India appointed Governors in all the states but in Jummu and Kashmir an Agent was posted. Restrictions were imposed on travel from and into Jammu and Kashmir and the permit system was introduced which was not prevalent in any part of the country. In addition to this the state was kept under the Ministry of External Affairs by delinking it from the Ministry of Home Affairs and one Secretary was kept incharge of the state. The seeds of separatism were sown then. Not only this, the state's trade Agents were posted in Delhi, Amritsar and Pathankot.

Besides this, the Government of India gave special powers to the State and the State Government. These special powers had not been given to any other State. In Jammu an Kashmir powers were given to the Government to frame its own constitution. Permission was given to have Sadar-i-Riyasat in place of Governor and to hoist National Conference flags, instead of the National flag, on the Government buildings. At that time the Finance Commission and the Election Commission had no jurisdiction in the State. No Central law could be applied to the State. The Government of India paid no attention to its dangerous consequences. The Government of India set up a Radio Station in Jammu and Kashmir but instead of naming it All India Radio, Srinagar, or Jammu, it was christened Radio Kashmir Srinagar and Radio Kashmir Jammu.

If anyone slightly opposed it, he was dubbed as communal and anti-India. Those who protested against it collectively were jailed. These special powers received legitimacy by incorporating Article 370 in the Constitution of India. This Article is dangerous. The slogan of separatism that is being shouted in Kashmir is directly connected with Article 370. The purpose of

this Article is not to give special status to the State. The meaning is straight. Under it the Muslim majority in the State is to get as much powers as it can to keep itself totally protected. Kashmiri leaders have many times stated that this Muslim majority state was joining Hindu majority country and the majority community in this State should be protected. Therefore, article 370 of the Constitution was adopted. The Article is clearly communal. Its aim is to keep the State separate from India and nothing else. It is surprising that the Government of India and many political parties consider it essential. They do not know that Kashmiri Muslims have been, over the years, saying that "we are not an inseparable part of India and we can decide our future ourselves."

It is not so that every Kashmiri treats this Article necessary. One Chief Minister of the State, G.M. Sadiq, had said that the utility of the Article was nil. This Article should be abrogated. He had tried to get it scrapped and its spirit eroded. He introduced nomenclatures of Governor and Chief Minister in place of Sadar-i-Riyasat and Prime Minister respectively and several central laws in the State. He had said that during his tenure he would gradually go in for complete abrogation of Article 370. But unfortunately his rule lasted for 7 years only. Had he lived for more time, Article 370 would have ceased to exist.

Jawaharlal Nehru had unbounded faith in Sheikh Abdullah. But how the time takes a turn. The same Sheikh was arrested on August 9, 1953 and jailed. He remained in the wilderness for 21 years during which he delivered objectionable speeches. When he was released on August 8, 1964 he told a massive public rally in Jammu that "our accession to India is temporary and it had ceased. We demand right of self-determination so that people can decide their future".

Sheikh Abdullah was installed Chief Minister again in February, 1975. At that time he was a patron of the Plebiscite Front. The seeds of insurgency had been sown at that time. One thing more is worth mentioning. At that time one Al-Fatah named terrorist outfit existed in Kashmir which had been declared illegal. Those activists of this outfit, who had been

imprisoned, were being defended in the court by Mirza Afzal Beg, Chief Lieutenant of the Sheikh. And the same Beg was sworn in as a cabinet minister in the council of ministers headed by Sheikh Abdullah. He was number two in the cabinet and recruited activists of Al-Fatah in the Government departments.

Today Pakistan is proclaiming in the world that the security forces are committing excesses on Kashmiris. This is totally false. Our Soldiers have come here to establish peace by curbing terrorism. If they are fired at they should have to return the fire in self-defence. Thousands of deadly weapons have been smuggled into Kashmir from Pakistan. Should these weapons be allowed to be in the hands of terrorists ? If it is to be, what should become of law and order ?

Pakistan's false campaign that "India's occupation of Kashmir is illegal and it is part of Pakistan" should be given a strong reply. Under the 1947 Indian Independence Act, the British Government transferred power to the people in India and in the states, power remained in the hands of the rulers. These rulers of the states were free to decide whether they would accede to India or to Pakistan. On August 15, 1947 Maharaja Hari Singh wrote to Government of India and Pakistan suggesting a status quo which was accepted by Pakistan but rejected by India. Possibly the reason was that the Government of India wanted to give to Sheikh Abdullah the power to decide the future of the State.

Rice was available in Kashmir but there was no wheat. Cloth and sugar were imported. The most important matter related to kerosene oil and petrol which were being imported from Pakistan. Pakistan curtailed the export of these items. Not only this, Pakistan brought 5,000 pathans from the frontier Province and collected them at Abettabad. They were given rifles and on October 21, 1947 were sent to Kashmir via Muzafarabad. They were backed by Pakistani troops. They marched ahead creating terror and destruction everywhere and raping women. The Maharaja of Kashmir had no sufficient force to repulse the attack. In order to protect the State he wrote to the Government of India expressing his willingness to accede to India and appealed to Delhi for sending troops. Can Pakistan

and its supporters say whether Jammu and Kashmir State was independent or not at the time 5,000 pathans and Pak soldiers invaded Kashmir ? Was not this invasion launched to attack Maharaja's independence ? No one has an answer for this.

One more question can be asked. What does the ongoing terrorist and separatist movement in Kashmir indicate ? This is an established fact, there can be no two opinions about it, that first of all nepotism flourished in Kashmir resulting in the emergence of a section of people which started minting and looting money. One section became rich and the other famished. Those youths who had the backing of National Conference leaders got jobs but those without any recommendation and push remained unemployed. Is it the only reason for terrorism ?

Mr. Narender Sehgal has, in this book, dwelt at length on the historical and political background of the Kashmir problem. Why Kashmiris, who have for 4,000 years refused to surrender before the dreaded invaders, are holding the apron of foreigners and their religion by snapping ties with the Indian culture and nationalism ? Readers will get an answer to it in this book with the support of historical instances. The problem of Kashmir is neither economic nor political in anyway. Separatism is not the result of poverty and backwardness. The problem has roots in religious attitudes and inclinations. Had political and economic inequalities been the cause of separatism, it should have first spread to Jammu and Ladakh when these two regions have been kept backward under a definite plan. In the intoxication of appeasement of the Muslims the Government of India always butchered the legal rights of the people of Jammu. It closed its eyes towards the development of Jammu and Ladakh and focussed its attention towards the Kashmir valley. The dirty politics of votes encouraged anti-national forces in Kashmir. The result is that Kashmir is seemingly becoming a land of religious fundamentalism.

Therefore, the only solution to the problem is to bring Kashmiri youth to the national mainstream. But the politics of self-interest is an obstacle in the noble work. This is the reason that the Central Government and all political parties are not worried over the future of three lakh Hindu migrants from

Kashmir. In order to resolve the Kashmir problem it is totally necessary to send these migrants back to their homes in Kashmir safely. The result of settlement of these displaced Hindus in areas outside Kashmir will be that the valley will become a Muslim country.

The "Converted Kashmir" book has been divided in four parts. The matter penned down in these four parts stands the test of historical facts and those of social sciences. By giving a detailed account of Kashmir's shinning cultural and literary heritage in the first part of the book the learned author has concentrated all the remaining material on it to highlight the real picture of Kashmir. It is a fact that this Kashmiriyat is a collective heritage of all Kashmiris. Today's Kashmiri Muslim society is the product of Hindu ancestors. The author has attempted to remind those Kashmiri youths, who have, on instigation from external forces, raised the banner of terrorism and separatism, of this shinning heritage and petriotism on which Kashmiriyat is based upon.

The second part of the book carries a detailed account of painful history of mass conversions of the Hindus by Muslim rulers and Sultans in Kashmir which is substantiated by instances and research work of historians. There is need for accepting this historical fact with an open mind.

In the third part there is an account, based on strong facts, of grave mistakes of the ruling politicians in the present times. There is a laudable description of Maharaja Hari Singh's nationalism, Lord Mountbetten's conspiracy, anti-national activities of Sheikh Abdullah and Nehru's short sightedness.

The last part assumes importance in the light of current developments. The ways for solving the Kashmir problem, given in this part, are strong, suitable and timely.

I believe that besides the bundle of evidences, simple language and attractive style will make the book popular.

Vijaygarh, Jammu
4-8-1992

D.C. Prashant
Ex-Member Rajya Sabha

Publisher's Note

Kasmir also called *Śāradādeśa* has, since the times immemorial, remained a great centre of learning. It has produced great luminaries in various fields who have contributed immensely to the Indian literature and philosophy in a scientific way. The great masters of Kasmir like Vasugupta, Somananda, Utpaladeva, Kshemaraja, Abhinavagupta have given to the world a wonderful philosophy called Kashmir Shaivism considered to be an advanced philosophy in the Indian philosophical world. The stalwarts like Sharang Dev, Leelavati, Anandavardanacharya, Kshemendra have even excelled in the fields of music, mathematics, sound-waves, satires respectively and they hailed from Kashmir. The masterly expositions of Abhinavagupta in the fields of Shaiva philosophy, poetics and rhetorics is commendable. Apart, the writing of history in Kashmir, in a modern scientific way, has contributed a great deal to the world. The world's acclaimed Kashmiri historian Kalhana Pandit wrote an important historical document 'Rājtarangini' (Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir) and touches varied aspects in the most scientific way.

Kasmir also called the *Rishibumi*, the land of spiritually elevated saints and sages like Lal Ded and Paramananda is also worldwide famous for its natural grandeur.

Keeping in view the great contribution of Kashmir in various fields, it becomes imperative to think that what are the grave factors which has led to the present crisis in the valley of Kashmir, the account of which are heart rending. This has become a matter of introspection. We have to assess the reasons of large scale conversions at the hands of Muslim invaders in Kashmir which took place by force in the medieval times. Even Muslim historians have spoken of this major feature. The author of 'Bahristan-i-Shahi' very well records how thousands

of Kashmiri Hindus were massacred and brutally killed by the Muslim rulers in a bid to terrorise them to accept Islam.

Kalhana observes that Kashmir can never be conquered by force. Even Mahmud Gaznavi, the traitor, could never win Kashmir but was every time defeated by the then Kashmiri forces. Very few people know that it was with the help of these forces that King Lalitaditya Muktapida of Kashmir had conquered the southern part of India and even Central Asia bordering Iran. Kalhana also mentions that Kannauj was once the courtyard of Kingdom of Kashmir.

Jag Mohan's 'My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir', Dinanath Raina's 'Unhappy Kashmir', Anil Maheshwari's 'Cresent over Kashmir' are some of the books which have been published during the continuing turmoil in the valley. An equally important book on Kashmir entitled 'Dharmantarit Kashmir' highlighting the historical facts from different sources leading to the unchecked blunders of religious conversions was also published during the same period. A need was felt to give a wider circulation of the book in English to the reading public so that the real truth is revealed about the Kashmir problem. Hence the present attempt throws sufficient light to look into the reasons besides forceful blunders leading to conversion in the valley. We hope the readers will find the book informative and analytical.

Utpal Kaul

Acknowledgements

Though gratefulness and gratitude are too small a word to convey my indebtedness to my dear friends for their encouragement, guidance and assistance, for a simple writer like me there cannot be additional words for expressing my thanks to these helpful people. Assistance is a debt which I do not want to get rid of. I shall be always apologetic, in the light of my pitiful condition, to my teachers, friends and colleagues for their encouragement and guidance because I am completely helpless and enable to pay back the debt of their valuable guidance.

It took about two years in the collection of relevant material, selection of facts and details connected with the subject of this book and in preparing the manuscript. But a faint outline of this book took shape in my mind when in January 1986, during the rule of G.M. Shah, hundreds of temples were demolished and desecrated, repression on Hindu women was let loose and efforts, on war-footing, were started for forcible migration of the Hindus from Kashmir. It became evident that the anti-national conspiracy for making the Kashmir valley a Hinduless area was part of the plan for converting the Hindu Kashmir into a Muslim dominated Kashmir initiated in 1339 by Syeds and Sufi saints of Hamdan. The current problem of Kashmir and the conversion therein are the result of the same foreign conspiracy. If the hand of foreign and irreligious rulers in creating the Kashmir problem by resorting to forcible religious conversion is evident, it would not be wise to ignore and forget dangerous blunders of the Hindu society. The book has been written with the purpose of acquainting the countrymen about these religious conversions and grave mistakes.

Many matters become clear with the title "Converted Kashmir." Kashmir is today what it was not earlier. Religious conversion has led to change in the loyalty towards the nation.

Fanaticism has created the Kashmir problem and its solution lies in the emergence of strong nationalism.

In order to achieve this objective it has become necessary to give a detailed account of the glorious ancient, history of Kashmir. Thus Neelmat Purana, Kalhana's Rajtarangani, besides many other books connected with Kashmir, were studied. This study was carried out in the library of Jammu University under the valuable guidance of Dr. D.C. Sharma, Head of the Kashmir section. I received valuable assistance from the heads and staff of the Ranbir Library, Jagriti Niketan Library, Raghunath Sanskrit library and the Vir Bhawan Library.

It is necessary to acknowledge the help given by many scholars who made available rare material, newspaper and magazine articles, resolutions, memoranda and books which facilitated writing of the book. Mr. Moti Lal Pushkar, a known Sanskrit scholar and expert on Kashmir history, gave historical background of Kashmiri Pandits and Kashmiriyat. Dr. T.N. Shalla, Professor of International Law in the Department of Law, Jammu University, helped me in tracing material on international law on terrorism and sent to me some of his selected research papers. A well-known educationist, Mrs. Sheila Sharma (Aima), made available to me books connected with religious conversion. Mr. Dhani Ram Shastri, a scholar and Head of Raghunath Sanskrit Library, corrected Sanskrit Shlokas incorporated in the first part of the book. Mr. Ashwani Kumar, working in the State Bank of India, Jammu, who besides being a Kashmiri is an expert on history of Kashmir, studied the manuscript of this book and gave important suggestions regarding Kashmiri names and places. Mr. Ashok Kumar, RSS Pracharak in Kashmir, and Mr. Hirday Nath, a social worker, made successful efforts, from time to time, for making available necessary facilities which facilitated speedy writing of the book.

Most of the material of the book was regularly discussed with respected Mr. Sheshadariji of the RSS and with Mr. Jagmohan, former Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, who have blessed the project.

I shall be indebted to all my well wishers. I cannot repay this debt. I shall be repaying it through the smiles of my sincere gratitude.

The brief but meaningful introduction by Respected Balasahab Deoras, which has attracted the attention of intellectuals towards the basic issues, has added to the importance of the book. He is not keeping a good health and his words are a lamp-post for us.

I am highly grateful to Mr. D.C. Prashant, a former M.P. and Special Correspondent in PTI, and a prominent citizen of Jammu, for having written the foreword of the book. Right from the beginning he has been watching closely the politics and politicians of Kashmir. Therefore, his foreword assumes importance.

It is possible the book may have some errors despite every care taken by me. I am reserving my gratitude for those who would, after reading the book, convey to me their major suggestions which would guide me in my writing work in the future.

Narender Sehgal

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PART-1

GOLDEN AGE

1

Religious Conversion and Touchstone of Nationalism

One stream of feeling permeates our national consciousness from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari. Conversion or different form of worship does not obstruct our national feeling. Muslims or Christians are not outsiders. All of them are an integral part of our society. They were converted because of various reasons. As countless rivers become one when they reach the ocean, so different sects become one when they merge in the ocean of nationality. It is essential for a religion to consider itself part and parcel of that land. Difference in religion does not change culture but various sects have their share in the development of national culture. It is ridiculous to talk of separate culture and history because of difference in forms of worship.

—Mahadevi Verma

People in today's Afghanistan, Turkey, Baluchistan, the Frontier Province, West Panjab, Bengal and in the whole of South Asia were Vedic Hindus only 1500 years ago. Kashmir was totally a Hindu area 700 years ago. These very people later became Muslims, Christians. So long they remained Hindus they were nationalists. The sound of peace and tranquillity echoed from temples and Maths. Despite having different faiths

they remained together and helpful to one another. Their roots were in the Indian culture. Under the centralised rule of the Indian kings people in all these states lived a happy life. Politically, geographically, socially and culturally the region remained united in the shape of India.

Advent of Islam

But the tables were turned with the advent of Islam. It marked an end of unity, humanity, culture and nationalism. Freedom of worship, religious unity, local deities and religious rites and capacity to think were all sacrificed on the altar of Islamic brotherhood. Forcible religious conversion, that too under the threat of the sword, rocked the nation. Refusal to accept Islam resulted in the massacre of people, destruction of temples and shrines, in burning of libraries, rape of women and sale of enslaved men belonging to the conquered society, in looting of property of non-Muslims and in encasing children in walls. These were done in the name of Islam to "please" God.

Wherever Islam spread in the world these acts of destruction took place. After all what is there in Islam ?

Islam Divides the World

Islamic social science divides the world in two parts.

1. Darul Harb : The nation of infidals (kafirs), area of war, is that place where people have not yet accepted Islam.

2. Darul Islam : Meaning that nation where people have adopted Islam. To convert the entire world into Darul Islam (area of peace) is the declared aim of Islam. Instructions have been issued for carrying out relentless struggle for achieving the establishment of the Islamic rule wherever it has not been set up yet. It means that Muslims living in non-Muslim countries will not settle in peace by cooperating with the local basic society, its culture and traditions. They will remain active in their search for establishing Darul Islam. The basic tenets of Islam do not accept any other religion. Therefore, it is considered religious to annex non-Muslim countries and then join them in the "Milat" (Muslim world).

Islam, either Death or Tax

Islam has created yet another religious division in the world—faithful (those who have faith in the Book) and faithless (those who have no faith in the Book). Christians and the Jews have been placed in the first group. Those who belonged to this group were given the right to live after paying the tax. But those who belonged to the other group (faithless) were given only two options—adoption of Islam or death.

It was necessary for non-Muslims in Egypt to wear a glass insignia round their neck after paying the tax so that it could be known that they had not accepted Islam yet. For the first time in India Feroz Shah Tuglak imposed tax on Brahmins. Thus there were two laws in the same country and at the same time, Islamic and non-Islamic. An example of this ignoble and shameless affair was witnessed during the time of Sikander, an iconoclast, when he prohibited Hindus to ride horses, wear clothes and possess arms like the Muslims.

Jehad (Religious War)

The concept of Jehad (armed struggle) is an essential part of Islam. Encouragement for struggle and fight against non-Muslims for the protection of Islam remain its aim. And the slogan like "Islam is in danger, be ready for Jehad" reverberate whenever Muslims face any political, social or geographical problem in any corner of the world. Recently Saddam Hussain of Iraq raised the slogan of Jehad against the United States in the Gulf war when he knew it well that four Muslim countries were in the battlefield against him (Saddam).

If Darul Islam (area of peace) and Jehad (call for sacrifice) are limited to the area of pure religious affairs, they can prove beneficial for humanity. But these expressions lose their sanctity when they are used as political weapons. Side by side the concept of Darul Harb (area of struggle) gives birth to religious fanaticism and destroys the sanctity of "Darul Islam" and Jehad.

A former President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, also a renowned philosopher, had carried out a detailed study of Islam. In his book "Ancient Religion and Western Thought" he has given brief but comprehensive definition of Islam. According to him Hindu religion is a uniting force which took centuries to understand and realise it. The religion of Islam is only a product of brain which has been expressed in one sentence — "God is one and Mohammad is His prophet." Prophet Mohammad claims that the chain from Adam to Noah to Moses and to Jesus is its last ring. The ideology of Prophet Mohammad is simple. It supports brotherhood and expresses hatred for idol worship. In the implementation of its principles Islam has left only two options—either adopt Islam or accept surrender before Islam. Before his death Prophet Mohammad had become master of Arab and had started invading his neighbour.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has said that history is a witness to the fact that Prohphet Mohammad's followers followed their Prophet's footsteps and continued the trend of invasions. In the Middle period these invasions had three segments—1. Caliphs, 2. Islamic Chieftain, 3. Mulla. With the blessings of Mullas the Muslim Army would first occupy any area and later under the shadow of their swords Mullas and Molvis would teach "Kalima" to the residents of those areas. This trend continued till there was peoples' awakening against such religious wars and Jehads. But by the time this materialised the work of conversion had dyed in Islamic green western and central Asia, north and central Africa and south-east region of Europe. And Islam established its foothold in some areas from India to Indonesia, from Philippines to China. For a long period Muslim Chieftains and Mulla, Molvis played a lead role in completing the process. After conquering any area the chieftain would present the residents of that area before a Mulla for effecting their religious conversion. Following their baptism to Islam the Mulla would make them obedient people of the Chieftain and the Chieftain would try to install local sardars. By and large this story has been repeated till date in many influential countries.

Sacred feeling of brotherhood and extreme fanaticism

There should be no objection in accepting that as per the God's plan, messengers of God, prophets and Lords are born, from time to time, for the betterment of the world. Those who have no faith in the power of God could interpret the same in a different way; some influential leader among the people tries to improve the deteriorating condition of the people, alleviate their difficulties and administer justice to them. This section of the people falls in the category of greatmen and prophets. Thus Prophet Mohammad too was a saint and a greatman who took the responsibility of preaching brotherhood in the world. He had been sent by God to the world as a prophet. He sacrificed everything for ending the evils of disputes, conflicts among the rulers, oppression of people by the rulers, communalism and idol worship in the world. He deserves honour for this work. It is a duty of all civilised people to bow their head before such a greatman, salute him.

But the Prophet's followers and supporters gave a political veneer to his teachings and message regarding humanity, amity and Islamic brotherhood. This was done to set up Islamic empire for which the bloodshed was not even remotely connected with humanity and civilisation. The pages of the holy Koran are full of the duties of humanity and humanism. But the followers of Prophet Mohammad failed to see those verses in the holy Koran which carry the message on human brotherhood, help to the poor, assistance to the helpless, improving the lot of the exploited, equal rights for all and the spiritual value of Namaz. They saw only those pages of the holy Koran which would satiate their imperialistic desires through which they could quench their thirst for wars. They saw only those pages which would lend religious legitimacy to their barbaric tendencies and through which they would derive strength for their ego, passion and greed for power. Everyone has a different style of understanding and interpreting scriptures. The righteous and the wicked imbibe the spirit of these scriptures according to their mental capacity. The righteous see virtue everywhere and

the wicked always sees the vice. Prof. Balraj Madhok has written on page 190 of his book "Hindu Rajya" that for understanding the Muslim mind and its intolerance towards other religions it is necessary to understand those Koranic verses which give direction to the Muslims regarding their behaviour with other people.

Sura (chapter) 8	Verse 12	Terrorise the mind of infidals (kafirs), Behead them and break their limbs.
Sura (chapter) 8	Verse 37	Fight them so long idol worship does not end and Allah's religion not loved by all.
Sura (chapter) 9	Verse 4	When the holy month ends, gherao (surround) the idol worshippers, wherever found, and attack them.
		(from translation of 315, 317, 321 pages of Koran by N.J.Dawood)

Under these very instructions they killed Guru Teg Bahadur. Guru Arjun Dev was burnt alive to death when hot sand was thrown on him. Sambhaji's limbs were cut into pieces and in our lifetime Swami Shradanand and other lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs were massacred. Despite these facts it would be like living in a fool's paradise and an indication of lack of understanding of the Muslim mind if it is believed that today's Muslim generation is different from its ancestors. Muslims have religiously followed the above mentioned directions. And we have been, according to Prof. Madhok, behaving like the proverbial monkey "do not see evil, do not hear the evil, do not speak ill".

Prof. Madhok in the same book says that Islam is not a religion but a political strength because its activities are not limited only to the worship of God. Its aim is to grab political power and to establish Islamic state. Beyond it Islam does not believe in the co-existence with people of different faiths. It cannot be expected of any true Muslim to be loyal to any non-

Muslim nation. They have been told to fight till they establish an Islamic state.

Mr. B.N. Jog has the same thing to say on page 51 of his book "Hindu-Muslim Unity." According to him the Koran has said that he who is not a Muslim is an infidal(kafir). How to deal with these infidals ? Koran has made a mention of it in clear and measured words.

"Kill an infidel wherever he is found. Evil practices and miseries spread because of them. It is better to kill them than have anarchy. Therefore, kill kafirs, But those who supplicate and seek protection and pledge to obey the dictates of Allah be spared. Do not have enemity with them. Fight infidals around you. Let them understand how merciless you are. And keep it in mind that those who fear God and obey Him Allah resides in them."

(Koran, Sura 9, Verse 25)

He quotes Koran and writes : Those who are diseased, thereby meaning who do not accept Allah, are the reason for the spread of faithlessness everywhere. But God wants to punish them through yoy. You have to keep the fight against them. They are to be killed. Fighting them may not be interesting still you have to fight. It can be that anything that does not interest you may be beneficial for you. Contrary to this, you may wish for something, or you may be in possession of something which may not be beneficial for you. You cannot understand it. Whatever is good or bad for you, only Allah can know it.

(Thus kill them as you have been directed)

(Koran : Sura 33 Verse 60 to 65)

"Punish the kafirs. Kill them. First tell them to adopt Islam, if they do not accept Islam, kill them. Slay them wherever they are found."

(Koran : Sura 4 Verse 90 to 95)

"Slay them or sell them as slaves."

(Koran : Chapter 5, Verse 30 to 35)

Such directions from the Koran are dreadful. At that stage victorious Khans or Sultans would implement these orders as

per their strength and mental capacity. The Koran carries a dictate which says that he who, after conversion, has become a Muslim too could be dubbed as a fraud and punished. Muslims were told to show no mercy to those who excel in deceit and later will say they have faith in Islam. Do not show compassion even if he says he has faith in Islam but there is nothing like this in his mind. How can you show mercy to them if Allah wants to punish them ? Their fall in the world is certain if God is not willing to purge them. It is also certain that they will be punished in heaven.

(Koran : Chapter 5, Verse 35 to 40)

While expressing complete faith in the holy Koran I wish to request Muslim scholars that they should convey their views on these verses to Mr. Balraj Madhok, (394-J, New Rajender Nagar, New Delhi) and to Mr. B.N. Jog, Lokhit Prakashan, Rajender Nagar, East, Lucknow so that confusion and doubts in opinion are removed.

Nation's Place in the Context of Islamic Brotherhood

In the concept of Darul Islam (era of peace) and Islamic brotherhood there could be no room for country and nation. Nation and society are small in front of the Islamic world. Love and loyalty to any one country is an obstacle in the goal of Islamic brotherhood. Removing it or its removal is necessary. The ideas and expressions like obedience towards the motherland, patriotism and national deity are considered idol worship as per the Islamic thought. And idol worshipper is an infidal (kafir). Thus without the elimination of infidals there can be no Darul Islam (region of peace). That is why nationalism and patriotism lag behind and religion marches ahead. This is the reason that those who get converted to Islam do not take time in changing their loyalty to the nation they belonged to. Their outlook, their faith, their ancestral culture, tradition, style of living and even their names change.

Mohd. Arif Beg has written on page 25 of his book "Muslim

Dilemma in India" that as per the principle, Muslims should have no nation of their's ; they compensate this deficiency through community feeling. This special feature does not allow them to adjust with the life and living in non-Muslim countries and does not allow a devoted Muslim to become a cosmopolitan, nor a nationalist nor a humanitarian. Islam makes Muslims communalists who can experience fellow feeling in only Muslim majority countries.

Believers of Islam have ruled areas from Spain to Albania and from Atlantic ocean to the Pacific ocean. But they never recognised the ancestors, their culture and their socio-religious traditions in any of these countries. Kaba was the sacred place for Muslims of this entire region. Islamic brotherhood was the field of action and the holy Koran the field of thought. There was no place for other ideas and opinions in this strictly disciplined unity. More surprising than it was the way the converted people in these countries got delinked from the religion of their origin, culture and nationalism. This activity is still on.

"Kuwait Times" is a famous newspaper in the gulf countries. In its edition of September 6, 1973 a news item, under the caption "Raid on Idol" gives an account of the behaviour and policies of the Government towards different religious doctrines. Mr. Jog in his book "Hindu-Muslim Unity" has made a reference to it. He has written that the newspaper wrote that "there is danger of rise in the interest in idol worship because of the display of idols of Hindu deities in number of shops in Dubai. In this connection Dubai Municipal Council will carry out the probe. The Government has issued orders under which idols of Hindu deities will be seized and those Hindus who will violate the prohibition on preaching Hindu religion and sale of idols were to be jailed besides paying fines".

The above mentioned instance should make it clear that there is no room for basic ideals and concepts of democracy, nationalism and secularism in Islamic and Muslim states. Attempts are being made to finish such ideals and conventions in these countries. Mohd. Arif Beg writes clearly on page 11 of his book "Muslim Dilemma in India" that despite these contra-

dictions final analysis reveals that neither the Koran nor Prophet Mohammad advocate humanity nor encourage it. In this situation it is natural to feel that Islam was born to end all other religions. This cannot make supporters of Islam likeable in India and in any other country where they are in minority. This also makes it clear as to why there is no secular constitution in any Muslim majority country and why a devoted Muslim cannot become a nationalist.

Who is Guilty ?

Nobody laid emphasis on the need for linking afresh the Muslim society in India with the culture and nationalism of its ancestors. Rulers exploited them as "vote banks" and allowed them to remain separate from the national mainstream by recognising their different political existence. Rulers treated them "votes" but not "citizens". This politics of self-interest prevented Muslims from being nationalists. If anyone tried to explain and make them understand patriotism and nationalism he was dubbed as a communalist. Sardar Patel, Purshotam Das Tandon, Acharya Kriplani, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Deendayal Upadhyay, M.S. Golewalker, Balasahab Deoras, L. K. Advani, everyone of them, have been bracketted in this group. The Congress rulers, in particular, neither thought of the welfare of Muslims nor allowed anyone to do so.

The misfortune of the Indian Muslims has been that their leadership remained in the hands of Mullas and Molvis. Strong, solid, liberal and nationalist Muslim leadership could not emerge. Whenever some patriotic and nationalist, educated Muslim scholars were seen emerging on the horizon they were declared degenerated enemies of Islam and infidals (kafirs) by the Mullas and the Molvis. Maulana Azad, Dr. Zakir Hussain, M.C. Chagla, Ham-id-Dehlvi, Arif Beg and Muzaffar Hussain like nationalists were never supported by the Mullas and Molvis. When Maulana Azad became the Union Minister for Education he was dubbed as a stooge of the Hindus by the Muslim world. A Muslim poet dedicated a couplet to him :

तेरे बुलंद मनासिफ की खैर हो यारब,
जिस के लिए किया तूने खुद ही को हलाल।

("you sacrificed your soul for your aggrandisement, greetings to you)

When Dr. Zakir Hussain became the first Muslim President of India the situation took a strange turn. He was a philosopher and poet. He expressed the sentiments of both Hindus and Muslims as below :

जाहिदे तंग नज़र ने मुझे काफ़िर जाना,
और काफ़िर समझता है मुसलमान हूं मैं।

The co-existence of nationalism and brotherhood and mutual distance can be presented through an interesting example.

Mohd. Iqbal was considered a scholar of Urdu and Islam. He was a great poet. In the beginning he wrote many poems on nationalism. He wrote a poem on India :

सारे जहां से अच्छा हिन्दोस्तां हमारा,
हम बुलबले हैं इसके यह गुलिस्तां हमारा।
ए आबरूदे गंगा वह दिन है याद मुझको,
उतरा तेरे किनारे जब कारवां हमारा।
मजहब नहीं सिखाता आपस में वैर रखना,
हिन्दी हैं हम वतन हैं हिन्दोस्तां हमारा।
कुछ बात है कि हस्ती मिटती नहीं हमारी,
सदियों रहा है दुश्मन दौरे जमां हमारा।
युनान मिस्र रोमां सब मिट गए जहां से,
अब तक मगर है बाकी नामों निशां हमारा।

This type of poem Mohd. Iqbal wrote and took pride in the culture of India. India's culture was described as immortal and declared India as his country. He wrote poems on Himalayan mountains and rivers of India. While treating Lord Rama a greatman he wrote a poem :

इस देश में हुए हैं हजारों मालिक सरिश्त,
मशहूर जिनके दम से दुनियां में नाम ए हिन्द

है राम के वजूद पर हिन्दोस्तां को नाज़
अहले नज़र समझते हैं उनको इमामे हिन्द।

Iqbal changed his mood and attitude when Mullas and Molvis together raised objections against such poems and when the Khilafat Movement was at its peak. He wrote one more poem under the title "Tarana-i-Milat". He wrote :

मुस्लिम हैं हम, वतन है सारा जहां हमारा,
हिन्दोस्तां हमारा, चीनो-अरब हमारा।
तेगों के साए में हम पलकर जवां हुए हैं,
खंजर हिलाल का है कौमी निशां हमारा।।

From "we are Hindis, Hindustan is our land" it became "we are Muslims, the entire world is our land". The entire dealings changed. When the question of choosing between religion and nation arose Iqbal held the apron of religion and sidelined the nation. Vir Sarvarkar had described it "from religious conversion to change in loyalty to nation".

Indian Muslims are also Children of Mother India

There are many sects and beliefs in India. All, while worshipping God through different ways, have maintained their religious identity. Parsis, Jews etc. while enjoying freedom have preserved their identity. People of India have welcomed and honoured everyone. The author of "Oxford History of India," Vincet Smith has given a thought-provoking and lovely description of the broad and liberal side of the Indian culture.

According to him there exists, in India, a deep spiritual unity which is deeper than the unity that is the result of geographical unity and political greatness. This unity has been forged after crossing the multi-dimensional facet of blood, colour, language, style of living, traditions and faiths. This prominent and basic unity is the result of the fact that in India different type of people gave birth to a peculiar civilisation and culture which are totally different from the one that exist in the world.

In an interview Mr. M.S. Golewalker had told Dr. Saifuddin Jeelani "Is it not strange that the Indian Muslims adopt the names from the Arabian history, do not hesitate owning historical figures of Iran like Rustam and Sohrab, adopt the names of greatmen of Turkey but maintain hatred against names of their Indian ancestors including Ram, Krishan, Chandragupt, Samudragupt and Vikramaditya"? After all Indonesia is also a big Muslim country but there the Muslims have not severed their links with their historical traditions, culture and language. Even being Muslims they have names like Sukaran and Ratana Devi. Their airlines is named as "Garud" considered to be Lord Vishnu's chariot. "Haven't they remained Muslims by doing so"? According to Golewalker if the Indian Muslims try to understand thoroughly and deeply the teachings of Prophet Mohammad in their historical perspective, they will not become only his true followers but also good nationalists and great Indians.

Different flowers can bloom in the sprawling garden of Indian culture. Under its greatness different opinions, sects, faiths can co-exist. All these can protect their identity while linking themselves with Indian nationalism. "If it is so, what is then the danger in linking Islam with Indian nationalism ?"

It is worth remembering those words of Mr. Arif Beg which he has written on page one of his book "Muslim Dilemma in India". According to him the conflict among the Muslims is that whether it is good for the Indian Muslims to lose their identity by merging with the people in India or they are bound by Islam to maintain their separate existence and keep on tolerating the physical, mental, social and economic consequences which are the result of separatism. Muslims have to decide whether they belong to that Muslim society which is a branch of Indian Muslims whose heart is in West Asia, or they are Indian Muslims of the Indian society whose roots are in the soil of India ?

The answer to this question can be found in the words of the RSS leader, Mr. M.S. Golewalker who has said that "uniformity is a signal of destruction for a nation. Nature does not

accept uniformity. I support different ways of life. Still care should be taken that these diversities should assist national unity and not create hurdles in the way of unity of nation".

When two brothers separate, what get divided are shops, house, ornaments, land etc. But not the division of parents. Ancestors do not change. The brother who has separated does not search for a new father. Similarly when the way of worship changes, what will then change ? Place of worship, way of worship and deity of worship change but ancestry, national great figures, national culture, history, ancient centres of national pride and nationality do not alter. If culture, history, ancestry and blood are one, why then there is difference in faith in country and nation ? When all religions are different ways of worshipping the only God, then why religious conversion ? And why change in loyalty to the nation after religious conversion ?

2

Kashyap—The Maker of Kashmir

क: प्रजापतिरुद्दिष्ट: कश्पयश्च प्रजापति: ।
तेनेदं निर्मितं देशं कश्मीरांख्यं भविष्यति ।।

(नीलमत पुराण-292)

First of all Kashyap, through rigorous penance, built Kashmir. According to a story in Neelmat Purana the entire area of India remained under water because of terrible inundation. With the passage of time all areas in India became worth habitation after the flood waters receded and after social systems were set up. But in the lap of Himalaya in north of India there was sprawling region which was still under water. This stagnant water assumed the shape of a big lake. After this a type of volcano eruption started taking place in the lake which caused cracks to the mountain peaks situated on the lake banks allowing drainage of the water. A lovely place took shape, the result of volcano eruption. As per the ancient convention the power of fire was called "S" and that is why the land was named by the experts as "satidesh.":—

नौ देहेन सती देवी भूमिर्भवति पार्थिव।
सतीदेश इति रव्यातं देवकीड़ं मनोहरम् ।।

After this Kashyap Rishi decided to make this area worth habitation for people. Alongwith labourers he started cutting mountains and levelling the land. Everything was completed successfully but there was need for a canal which could permanently siphon out water. Kashyap sought assistance from Shiva who sent immediately teams of experts. Kashyap requested Shiva to inaugurate digging. Shiva inaugurated the digging programme by striking the earth with his trident. A

river flowed from the trident hit spot and it was named "Vitasta.":—

वितस्तिमात्रं गर्तुं तु शूलेन कृतवान हरः।
तस्याः नाम वितस्तेति कृतवान शंकरः स्वयम्।।
(नील-340)

This way the river carved out its way by breaking and removing boulders. It flowed quenching thirst, irrigating and making cultivable many areas to join the river Indus:—

शिलामार्गेण यास्यामि यावत्सिन्धु महानदम।।

When this area was fully levelled and banks of Vitasta (Jehlum) were completed Kashyap rishi sent a formal invitation to people in many areas of India requesting them to come and settle there. Accepting his invitation, people belonging to different castes and communities arrived. They included industrialists, farmers, workers, doctors, roads and buildings artisans. Everyone started efforts for reservation of plots. The Rishis allotted land to them as per their calibre and according to a system and rule. Those belonging to the Naag sect of Kashyap and others developed towns and villages and within a short period beautiful houses and temples were built :—

कृत्वा पुराणि ग्रामांश्च तीर्थान्यायतानामि च।
गृहाणि च विचित्राणि चकार वसति जनाः।।
(नीलमत-477)

After all this work was completed, the question arose as to who should be entrusted with the task of running the government in the state. The son of Kashyap, Neel, was unanimously declared the ruler :—

तेषां राज्ये महाभाग त्वं नीलमभिषेचय।

This way Neel is the first ruler of Kashmir. He handled the State's administration tactfully. The panoramic beauty of the state attracted many people to this place. People belonging to different religions and communities started living here. Neel ruler welcomed everyone. Many facilities were made available. It was peace all around and an atmosphere of delight :—

नीलोक्तवचनं कुर्वन् ततः प्रभृति वै जनः।

उवास सततं इष्ट: कश्मीरेषु कृतालय।।

(नीलमत-477)

When the fame of Kashmir spread far and wide, Lord Indra too came to Kashmir for a visit alongwith his wife Shachi. Neel ruler made fine arrangements for his stay and for his tour. One evening when Indra and his wife Shachi were busy in pleasant conversation, while walking with a cool breeze on the lake bank, a voluptuous demon attacked Indra to kidnap Shachi. :—

तत: कामवशोन्मत: शचीहरणलालस:।

Then Indra killed him with his weapon. Indra and Shachi left for their state.

At that time a patrol party of Neel, while patrolling, passed by that side. It saw a child beside the body of the demon. The child was weeping beside the body of his father. The patrol party picked up the child and handedover him to Neel. Neel brought him up as his son and made him educated. Since the child had been lifted from the water-splashed bank of the lake, Neel named him Jalodbhav :—

यस्यादयं जले जातस्तस्मादेष जलोद्भव:।
भगवन् विदितं सर्व यथापूर्व मया शिशु:।
पलित: संग्रहसुतो दैत्यो नाम जलोद्भव:।।

(नीलमत-189)

Neel tried fully to link him with Indian nationalism by merging him with the mainstream of Kashmir. But Jalodbhav would shun qualities of patriotism and social service. After all he was a demon. He could not get adjusted with the soil of Kashmir because of his demonic nature. Foreign powers encouraged his anti-national mental make-up. With his full strength he concentrated on destroying mutual love and culture of Kashmir. Kashmiris migrated to different areas of India out of fear of Neel and left behind their property.

People belonging to Gandhar, Abhisar, Juhundur, Shak, Khas, Tarang, Mandav, Madr, Antargiri and Bahigiri sects and areas were tyrannised by the group dancing to the tune of this sinner and foreigners:—

दार्वाभिसारगान्धार जुहुण्डरशकान् खसान्।
तङ्गणान् माण्डवान् मद्रान्तर्गिरिबहिर्गिरीन।।
ते हन्यमाना: पापेन देशात् संप्रादवन् भयात्।
शून्येषु तेषु देशेषु विचचार स निर्भय:।।

(नीलमत-83, 84)

The dance of destruction enacted by these antinational elements resulted in the destruction of the entire region from Madr to Kashmir. This part of India was bereft of Indianness because its original residents had been forced to migrate.

तेनेदं सकलं शून्यं मद्रदेशं कृतं प्रभो

(नीलमत-144)

Neel faced this situation with all his strength but failed to control it. He tried to stop migration of the patriotic people of Kashmir but everybody thought it better to migrate to any part of India to escape death because of the dance of destruction started by Jalodbhav. That time Kashyap rishi had gone on a pilgrimage. When he came to know about it and about the antinational activities and foreign conspiracies in Kashmir, he returned immediately. After taking stock of the situation he announced that he would not be going on tour and on pilgrimage. Kashmir was to be handedover to the Army and he said "I would make arrangements for this. I shall call for an explanation from those who have destroyed the country, tyrannised people, raped women and indulged in killings". He also announced that arrangements would be made under which migrant patriotic people could return safely and honourably :—

कर्तव्ये अत्र प्रतीकारो मया तीर्थ समाप्तित:।
तीर्थयात्रां समाप्येव शीघ्रमेतत् करोमि ते।
वचनं येन भद्रेण वसेयुश्च प्रजा द्रुतम्।। (नीलमत)

This way Kashyap encouraged Neel to handover Kashmir to the Army for its protection. Had there been the Congress Government in India at that stage the Prime Minister would have told Neel "First install Jalodbhav as the Chief Minister in Kashmir and then the talks can be initiated". Similarly it would have handedover power to Jalodbhav, the rebel, and directed

king Neel, the nationalist, to migrate to Jammu. It would have given facilities to the antinational elements to hatch conspiracies under the garb of Article 370 which gives to the state a special position.

But Kashyap Rishi was not a Congressite. He had not to seek votes from any specific community. That is why he, instead of adopting a policy of appeasement, decided to root out the demonic band of Jalodbhav. As per his plan Lord Shiva and Vishnu reached Kashmir with their forces. Jalodbhav and his followers hid themselves in hideouts from where they would adopt hit and run policy against the Army.

The Army cordoned off the entire area infested with terrorists belonging to Jalodbhav. Shiva, Vishnu, Kashyap and Vasuki commanded the troops on all the four corners. The Army action was launched from all the four sides. When Jalodbhav emerged from a pond the rain of sharp arrows killed him and his followers who too had come out of their hideouts to flee. Not a single soul survived. On seeing Jalodbhav Vishnu beheaded him with his Cross.

चिच्छेद दैत्यस्य शिरः प्रसह्य।

(नीलमत-180)

The death of Jalodbhav led to the end of antinational elements in Kashmir. King Neel occupied the throne again. The Kashmir issue registered a total end. All the displaced people returned to their houses. They were given full protection and honour. All of them expressed their gratitude to Kashyap Rishi who restarted his pilgrimage.

Come and learn a lesson from this saga, written in Neelmat Purana compiled several thousand years ago, connected with the birth, development, fall and reconstruction of Kashmir so that by bidding farewell to the politics of appeasement and vote an attempt is made to understand and solve the Kashmir problem in the interest of the nation.

3

Cultural Heritage of Kashmir

ज़र्रा ज़र्रा है मेरे कश्मीर का मेहमांनवाज़।
राह में पत्थर के टुकड़ों ने दिया पानी मुझे।।

"Particles of my motherland, Kashmir, are known for their hospitality. What to speak of its lakes and cascades, even the wayside pebbles quenched my thirst, whenever the need arose. Then what to talk of the abode of Kashmir."

—Pt. Brijnarain Chakbast

The above lines are written in praise of Kashmir which are an outburst of spontaneous feeling of pain over the current terrorism in Kashmir. True, every inch of Kashmir has quenched the world's thirst. Every part of this land has a strange capacity of satiating every person of the world. The sons of the soil gave direction to the entire world and showed ways of living a happy life through the depth of their spiritual knowledge. They welcomed grief-stricken people so that the wealth of knowledge could get distributed among all. The pebbles from which Brijnarain secured water for quenching thirst are the very gates of Kashmir from where no one has returned empty handed.

Kashmir has had its share in liberal distribution of knowledge, wealth etc. which is an important ingredient of Indian culture. The land of Kashmir nourished the spiritual wealth of the philosophies of Buddhism, Shaivism, Vaishnavism and then spread this verdent and immortal culture in the world, without any discrimination, for the benefit of mankind. Dr. Raghunath Singh has, in his commentary on Rajtarangani,

written about this peculiar feature of Kashmiriyat. According to him, there was no difference between Kashmiris and outsiders in Kashmir. Rulers of Kashmir had given shelter, honour and wealth to the foreigners. They flourished through their work and religion. There was no hatred, ill will and pain against any community, no hatred because of their behaviour. There was no opposition, no dishonour despite their different style of living and their lack of support for other religions. Buddhism and Shaivism existed side by side and received recognition in Kashmir till the 14th Century. There was never any conflict between them. There was no struggle and the Buddhists neither interfered in the state administration nor hatched conspiracies.

Many faiths and sects were born to flourish in Kashmir. Many a time there were revolutions but these were miles away from the bloody revolutions in the west. The revolution in the west meant uprooting the existing system through violence and bloodshed but in India revolution stands for a change which does not end one's existence and instead promotes its growth and development. Change as a result of the amalgam of the old and the new does not give birth to any struggle. Respect to all "faiths" is the same value of the Indian life which in Kashmir has been called Kashmiriyat.

Sect of Nag Puja

Such changes took place in Kashmir many times but the trend of thrusting one's sect never succeeded. Never was there any conflict among these sects. First of all the philosophy based on snake worship, propounded by Neel Rishi, developed in Kashmir. This way of worship continued without restrictions.

Buddhist Sect

Kashmir witnessed the advent of Buddhism during the time of Ashoka in the middle of the 3rd Century. There was propaganda of the Buddhist doctrines of contentment in renunciation, truth is real happiness, greed and happiness have no end and non-violence is the supreme way. During the period of

Ashoka many monasteries and temples were built. Kashmir Buddhist preachers toured many parts of the world for quenching the thirst of humanity.

Buddhism spread in Kashmir but the Brahmins were not influenced by it and they maintained the sanctity of their complex religious activities. In order to secure support of the Brahmins Ashoka would visit ancient Shiva temples for worship. (see Rajtarangani : 1, 102-107). Buddhism declined by 638 A.D. After its spread till the 9th Century it mingled with different tribes but it made no change in Sanatan Dharam.

Nagaarjun is counted among great philosophers of India. He used to live in Kashmir during the reign of Kanishka. Kanishka organised a Buddhist conference under the presidentship of two scholars, Ashwagosh and Vasumitr. The conference was held at Harwan (Srinagar). About 500 Buddhist monks participated in the conference. During the reign of Abhimanyu, who succeeded Kanishka, Nagaarjun adopted Buddhism and defeated Brahmins in the discourse on religious philosophy. Chandracharya, a known grammarian of Kashmir, had participated in the debate on behalf of the Brahmins. Despite the opposition from the Brahmins, the influence of the Buddhist majority on people remained intact. Many scholars, born in this period, spread Buddhism far and wide. During 384-417 A.D. a renowned Kashmiri scholar, Kumarjeev, went to China with a message of Buddha and he was honoured by the Chinese kings. He is considered, in China, one among the four sons of Buddha. Shakishree Badr, Ralawra, Shyam Bhat are included among the Buddhist preachers who, around 405 A.D., established credibility of their supremacy in China and Tibet.

Shaivism

After Ashoka the advent of Shaivism took place during the time of his son, Jalok. But religion remained the means for this change. No Buddhist monastery was damaged. No obstacles were created in their system of worship. Jalok was himself non-violent. Through the Government order he banned animal killing.

Kashmir is an apt place for Shaivite philosophy. About 70 per cent of the Kashmiri society is worshipper of Shiva. Shaivite philosophy is the soul of Kashmiri life. The philosophy of Shaivism, based on deeds, considers Yoga and renunciation, the pillar of humanity, the soul as permanent. The body performs desire-oriented work and destruction of illusions and dellusions lead to salvation. It is, in short, the Shaivite philosophy.

In old days Kashmiri scholars would study the same philosophy. Their teachings influenced entire India. It is said that Ramanuj, a devotee of Vaishnav, undertook a long journey from Madras to Kashmir for studying this philosophy. Enough material on Shaivite literature is available in Kashmir even these days. Vishnu and other deities are worshipped in Kashmir. Many people were followers of Tantric sect. Every family would remain devotees of one or more of the goddesses of Sharika, Ragniya, Jwala and Bala. They would believe in Sanatan Dharam as it is these days.

The vision and conception of Shiva has been formed in a family fashion. Shiva has a family, Parvati is his wife, Kartikiye and Ganesh his two sons. Kartikiye is the lord of war and Ganesh the chief of the republic. The base of agriculture is the bull which is his chariot. Water, the life of agriculture, is manifest in the shape of the water of Ganges on his forehead. While being in concentration towards the universe, he is away from it. He is in concentration. While seated in 'padmasana' like a yogi he lives in the world but is not attached to it. He is embodiment of renunciation and detachment. He is absorbed in meditation. He loves his devotees and he is a great donor. He is well versed in the scriptures. His weapon is trident which symbolises the three worlds and three 'gunas'. Shiv is the synthesis of opposing inclinations and natures. If his throat is blue because he has drunk poison, nectar—like moon and the Ganges are his ornaments.

What is not in the philosophy of Shaivism which is born and developed in Kashmir ? It is a vision of perfect human life, it is way of its progress. The issues and areas connected with family, agriculture, religious wars, republic, yoga, development

of mind, renunciation, arms training have all got assimilated in the form of Shiva. Where is such a philosophy in the world ? People from every area of the world would come to study this philosophy. The pebbles of Kashmir have quenched the thirst of everyone.

Centre of Education

Mr. Anand Koul has written in his book "The Kashmiri Pandit" that from the ancient times Kashmir and Kaashi were famous for learning throughout India. But Kashmir was ahead of Kaashi. Scholars of Kaashi had to come to Kashmir for completing their studies. Even today people of Kaashi, during initiation of children to learning, tell them to wear the sacred thread and walk seven steps in the direction of Kashmir. After the completion of education sacred thread is considered a symbol of visiting and returning from Kashmir.

The land of Kashmir has remained an important training centre of Indian culture. Kashmir has a special role in propagating Indian life style in the entire world. This fact cannot be ignored.

Mr John Mecenze has written in his book "Hindu Ethics" that Kashmir (India) has enriched the world ethics by its religious doctrines and the principles of sobre qualities and deeds. With this the recognition of the doctrine of deeds and the immortality of soul have received important place in the code of ethics.

Kashmir has remained a strong centre of culture. Many foreign historians and scholars would consider it essential to receive education in Kashmir as is recorded in the diaries of Chinese scholars like Huen Tsang and Oukaang who had come to Kashmir for the study of Sanskrit in 631-759 A.D. Right from the beginning, Kashmir has been a centre of teaching and learning. No scholar would be considered experienced and perfect without learning from known scholars in Kashmir. Huen Tsang has written that people of Kashmir are lovers of education and culture. For centuries there has been honour and respect for education in Kashmir. Albrooni who in 1102 toured

Punjab with Mohd. Gaznavi has written that Kashmir is the biggest school of Hindu scholars. People from far and near places used to come to Kashmir for learning Sanskrit and many among them would stay back after getting attracted by the valley's pleasant climate and natural beauty.

A Sanskrit college was being run under the guidance and principalship of Parshotam Koul at a short distance from Srinagar in the Kashmir valley. Students from various corners of India and abroad would come to study Sanskrit. Education was free in this institution. This is an invaluable example to highlight the aspect of free education in Indian culture. The son of Guru Nanak Dev and founder of the sect of renunciation, Baba Shri Chand, also had received training in this college. The Mughal prince, Dara Shikov, too had come to Kashmir for learning Sanskrit.

Kashmir produced an endless community of learned and elevated men and women. These greatmen, by getting encouraged from the strong religion and ancient doctrines, adopted a life of penance and resolved the mystery of existence. They explored the ultimate truth and carried that truth to mankind.

Sir Francis Young husband has written in his book on Kashmir that Kashmiris have remained as they were despite living with the proud Mughals, heartless Pathans, obstinate Sikhs and hard-hearted Dogras.

He has written that those Hindus who remained mute spectators of rape of their women, death and destruction of their children and property by their cruel conquerors, without daring to complain, saw the destruction of their country in arson, watched the desecration and destruction of temples and idols, these very Hindus turned into flames of fire when perpetrators of injustice raised the question of conversion of religion and customs. Even the 1000 years rule of the Muslim conquerors was not sufficient to thrust their religion, customs and rites, through violence and cruelty, on the Brahmins and weaken their determination. The allurement of honour and high posts and the threat of death and dishonour could not shake them. In reality the opponents had to yield and had to

adopt many religious and unwarlike style of the conquered people.

There was no danger of foreign invasions to Kashmir, situated behind the sky-kissing mountains, cut off from the neighbouring countries, inaccessible and a natural republic. That is why people from other countries rushed here like locusts. According to Albrooni, the moment Mohd. Gaznavi conquered Punjab, people fled to Kashmir, Benaras and other places where the hand of invaders had not reached. In ancient times people from Central Asia and China started coming to Kashmir in the light of good relations these countries had with India. Kashmir was a fertile state and self-sufficient in foodgrains and that is why people belonging to far and near scarcity-hit countries were attracted to it.

These tired and defeated people were accepted in the affectionate lap of the panoramic valleys. Hunger tormented people were given shelter in the valley, rich in wealth and foodgrains, and its sweet and soft singing streams gave coolness to the thirsty people. Thus people belonging to every race, tribe, community, sect led a happy life for centuries in this land of strange amity. There was no enimity, ill feeling, no dispute. There were separate ways, monesteries, temples, gurdwaras, priests, places of worship and yagnya but there was no discord and confrontation. In the shape of co-operation everyone contributed to the development and promotion of Kashmiriyat (Indianness).

Why all Kashmiris are Called Pandits ?

An important question arises. If people from all regions and communities settled in Kashmir, why then all of them are Kashmiri Pandits ? A simple answer to this deep question is linked with the cultural and spiritual legacy and caste recognition in Kashmir. Right from the beginning Kashmir is famous as a land of scholars. This land of rishis, saints, monasteries, temples, educational and spiritual centres had given birth to victorious and honourable scholars. All these scholars were called Pandits. The man who possesses knowledge and imparts

that among others is a "Pandit". The caste and community identity in Kashmir, the land of knowledge, became famous with the name of "Pandit". Those rivers and rivulets that joined the sacred flow of the Ganges became Ganga and similarly "Kashmiri" and "Pandit" assumed one mould to become synonyms.

One more bright and encouraging side of "Kashmiriyat" is that on this land oneness was brought about in different castes, and communities. The land of Kashmir has given right to all, forest and town dwellers, backward and scheduled castes, to become Pandits. It is because of this that the land is a "paradise". Besides this, people belonging to the four castes, Brahmin, Kshatriyas, Vaishas and Shudras, lived and live in Kashmir. From the ancient period Kshatriya dynasty has remained influential and rulers in Kashmir. Just as people belonging to Kshatriya caste attach "Singh" word with their names in rest of India. Kshahtriyas in Kashmir would attach "Aaditya" word with their name. Pratapditya, Lalitaditya, Vajraditya, Baladitya, Ranaditya, Vedaditya and Vikramaditya are some of the instances. Thus Aaditya was a "Suriya vanshi Kshatriya". There are still many dynasties of Kshatriyas in Kashmir. They have changed their sect because of scare and self-interest but majority of them have not forgotten to write the name of their basic sect and "gotra". The sect of Lohar, Damar, Rathore, Naik, Thakur etc. are prevalent. There are Lohars in the northern region of the valley and Damar in the south. The community of traders is also in Kashmir. Tramboos and Voras of Sopore belong to this sect. Poters, cobblers connected with the scheduled caste were called "Wattals". They are still there. Till a few years ago an editor of a newspaper in Kashmir was connected with this caste.

The caste character in Kashmir is both Brahmnical and soldierly. Bhat is a famous subcaste (gotra) of the land. "Bhat" is a mixture of both the trait. Bhat means a Brahmin, teacher, who imparts knowledge. The one "T" in Bhat means a solider, a warrior, a protector.

The word Pandit symbolises that aspect of Kashmiriyat

which has attracted and influenced world scholars for the last 4,000 years. The word Pandit is a tradition of Kashmir. This word is a memorial of ancient history, culture, mountains, streams, verdent and cool vales of Kashmir. It is a symbol and proof of the ancient glory and importance of Kashmir.

In this connection Sh. T.N. Ganjoo has written in his book "Mahashri Shribhat" that those Kashmiri Hindus who managed to escape from the killing by Muslims and from the forcible conversion to Islam did not belong to only one caste. In reality there were Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishas and Shudras among them. Their number was so small that it was difficult to maintain social practices by adopting the established caste system. In these circumstances Shribhat encouraged people for establishing a classless society. But the caste and the class have remained a deep and strong social trend and it has been difficult to explain it fully. For this Shribhat initiated all Kashmiris to the Brahmin class in order to have one caste and class. The secret of this scheme gets clear through the elucidation of "gotras". This has not received the attention of any historian so far.

What do Names of Streams and Mountains Denote ?

It is clear like the sunlight that Kashmir was once a land of Hindus even if today firm attempts are being made to annihilate Kashmir's ancient and real setup by dyeing it in the hue of foreigners and religious intolerance. Kashmiriyat was, once, a Hindu culture. And today those who have come in the clutches of conspiracies of religious intolerance are theproginy of Hindu ancestors.

Far in the north is the Hundukush mountain which is the crown of the vale of Kashmir. Its name speaks of its heritage. A revolutionary nationalist, Ashfaqullah, had said in a fit of emotion "My Hindukush became Hindukash" — Hindukash meaning killer of Hindus. The chain of mountains in Kashmir start from this Hindukush. The peaks of Brahma, Harmukh, Mahadev, Goparai, Chandanwan, Naag parbhat are all San-

skrit names. The name of Satisar to Kashmir has been given by gods. The ruler of Satisar, Neelnaag, was after all the son of Kashyap Rishi, the founder of Kashmir. Kalhana in his Rajtarangani has named the river Indus as north Ganges and in Neelmat Purana it is called "uttarmanas" meaning Gangabal close to which is an ancient pilgrimage. It is now called Nandkot. Adjacent to it flows Kankvahini stream which has changed to "Kankai Nadi." Jehlum is the Vedic Vitasta and the Sharda pilgrimage is situated on the bank of Kishenganga.

The names of other pilgrimages are Amreshwar (Amarnath) Sureshwar, Tripreshwar, Hareshwar, Jeshteshwar, Shivbuteshwar, Sharda Saritshilla. To which religious philosophy are they connected ? Look at these mountain passes of Kashmir whose names are Sidh Path (now called Sedan pass), Panchal pass (Pir Panjal), Dugdhar (Dudukant), Zozilla pass, Chinta Paani etc. To which history they signal to? That is why a British historian, Vernier, accepted that the name of Kashmir is linked with Kashyap Rishi. Malik Hyder, a Muslim writer too has written clearly that Kashyap Rishi was the founder of Kashmir.

Rajtarangani

The world famous book, Rajtarangani, written on Kashmir, is a factual history of 4, 000 years. The events shaped in front of its makers. It is also a world record that the same book has been written by writer after writer for centuries. Kalhana, Joanraj, Shriwar and Shuk advanced the book during their times. There is an extraordinary contribution from Buddhist, Shaivite, Vaishnav, Pischach, Naag, Guhjak, Boatt, Shia, Suni, Syed, Chhak, Mughal, Pathan, Sikh, Dogra, British and Kashmiri people in this historical book. The state administration and the rulers in Kashmir were influenced by these philosophies. Kashmir is a well equipped laboratory for carrying out analytical study of opposing setup and systems, contradictory philosophies and opposing sects and faiths.

Sati Desh

This fact has been established in this historical laboratory that ancient rulers in Kashmir recognised every human being as the creation of God. That is why state power did not become means of achieving selfish ends for the rulers here. The standard of human value and civilisation did not fall. All the ruins of the buildings that are available in Kashmir are all the result of destruction of places of worship, schools, monasteries. But there is no sight of places and palaces for entertainment and pleasure and no sight of the harems of the kings. The rulers never hijacked people's pleasure and happiness for their comforts and delight. Rulers in Kashmir, saints, seers treated the land as the country of Sati and that is why they thought any injustice or pain caused to people would be an insult to goddess Sati. This very religious taboo encouraged rulers to remain bound by rules and traditions. The ruler could not enjoy absolute powers. This philosophy supported the supremacy of people's interest and the national interest. Powers of the rulers remained within the limits of tradition.

Kings in Kashmir protected and furthered India's glorious traditions. But whichever state was conquered the reigns of the Government were given to the local people. The conquerers did not settle in the conquered states and they did not destroy the style of living of the people there. Places of worship were not damaged, religious conversion was not done. Their system and setup were not thrust on anyone. Lalitaditya conquered the state upto central Asia but never allowed himself to become a seeker of pleasure. Kashmir produced a renowned emperor, Meghvahan, whose armed forces conquered half of the world. Conquered states were returned on only one condition that there would be no violence and killing of human beings. He returned after ensuring people a terror free life. Meghvahan raised the stature of Kashmir by his ideals of sacrifice for the protection of people. This is Indianness.

Kashmir provided an opportunity for the ideals of Emperor Ashoka and Kanishka to grow together. One was connected with spiritualism and the other materialism. But the

philosophies of the two did not go against the established ancient conventions. Liberalism, tolerance and mundane principles became the base of the two philosophies.

Sufi cult

The beginning of the 14th Century marked the advent of Sufi cult in Kashmir. A Sufi saint from Hamdaan (Persia), Syed Ali Hamdani, came to Kashmir alongwith 700 followers in 1372. This was followed by arrival of many sufi saints. These sufi saints had come to Kashmir with the sole aim of converting people of Kashmir to Islam, in which they succeeded, the people in the valley accepted their spiritual discourses and sermons in the form of yet another flower in the sprawling garden. Devotion in human life, simplicity, discipline, sanctity etc., were guiding spirit behind the sufi cult. "Jehad", according to the sufi cult, is purging one's mind of evils and fight against them by controlling material desires.

According to the sufi cult, God is formless. Man succeeds in establishing relation with Him through his sanctity and concentration. God has created man and man is a form of God.

The doctrine of the sufi cult is clear and practical. People of Kashmir placed these sufi saints in the galaxy of their greatmen and made their sermons part of Kashmiriyat. It is a different matter that the conversion of Hindu society to Islam, carried out by the sufi saints, has now become a cancerous fester on Kashmiriyat.

Rishi Cult

The "Rishi" tradition or system was born in Kashmir towards the middle of the 14th century. This spiritual association was the result of efforts and teachings of Lal Ded and Sheikh Nooruddin, two known saint poets of Kashmir. The number of these rishis was about 2,000 and were spread in villages. Abu Fazal, a Muslim saint and who later became part of the rishi cult, has said that the most respected group in Kashmir is of Rishis. Though they had given up the traditional mode of worship, still they were true devotees. They have no

desire for worldly matters and pleasures. They plant fruit trees for the benefit of the people. They are vegetarians and are celebates. In reality these rishis have converted the land of Kashmir into a paradise. There was no place for self-interest in their teachings, no pride in their behaviour, no meanness in their teachings.

According to these rishis, if a man controls his ego and pride and surrenders in front of God, he can experience the real aim of life. This rishi system can be better understood by referring to the relevant material connected with the life of its founder, Sheikh Nooruddin.

One day he went out for a walk. Many fish preparations were being prepared in a shop. Sheikh Nooruddin went there with an urge to eat fish. But the moment he moved ahead, he was jolted by his spiritualism; he stopped. Instead of eating fish he took up a live charcoal from the hearth and put it in his mouth. His mind was afflicted with pain and in a fit of emotion he said "It is the punishment for self-interest, lust, ego and meat eating".

Thus Kashmiris demonstrated their broadmindedness by amalgamating the teachings of sufis and rishis, which were born and which grew in Kashmir, by treating these sayings, like Sant Kabir, as yet another addition to human qualities.

Indian Nationalism and Kashmiriyat are One

In fact what is called today as "Kashmiriyat" is not, in any case, different from Indianness. Kashmiriyat has no independent existence. Those who harbour the idea of regional nationalism by dividing the Indian culture in Kashmiriyat, Panjabiyat, Assamiyat, Bangla, Tamiliyan etc., have been responsible for the shrinking of the geographical area of India which was once a vast country. Unfortunately these conspiracies are still being hatched. Many flowers bloom in a garden. Their joint existence contributes to the beauty and glory of the garden. If any flower declares its independent existence, drops out of the branch, moves out of the garden, then its existence not only ends but it will commit the sin of ruining the garden.

That is why Kashmiriyat is not a product of any one religion. This Kashmiriyat is not the one that was born 600 years ago. Let those, who while taking arms in their hands to disturb the conception of Kashmiriyat, watch carefully and realise which blood runs in their veins. The blood is of their Hindu ancestors. Those very ancestors who watered Kashmiriyat with their blood. It is that very blood. The sects and cults of snake worship. Shaivites, Buddhists, Vaishnavas, Sufis and Rishis have, like flowers, bloomed on the soil of Kashmir lending fragrance to Kashmiriyat. Everyone has a share in Kashmiriyat. And this Kashmiriyat is part of that Indian culture whose strange form has been shaped by the kind God with His hands.

4

Kashmir's Mighty Tradition

Kashmir can be conquered not through arms but through the power of the virtuous deeds. Residents of that place are scared of only heaven/hell and not of the armed men.

(Kalhaṇa's Ratarangani : Chapter I Verse 39)

Kalhana, the historian, has taken pride in the invincible strength and glorious traditions of Kashmir, the crown of mother India, Kashmir, with its head high, has enjoyed honourable independence for 4,000 years on the basis of its own strength. Its brave warriors have never bowed their heads in front of foreign invaders and their weapons. The battle sagas and cries of this sacred land have been heard in the entire world. The entire world has recognised the might of its soldiers in their war campaigns. For many centuries the warriors of this land of the brave have stopped with their swords terrible invasions of the blood thirsty and so called invincible communities and tribes from foreign lands. Here on this land, where, on one hand, the peaks of spiritualism were raised, on the other hand, its sons made bravado and bravery as part of their life. Many books in Sanskrit carry an account of the importance of Kashmir. Modern historians will have to write it one day that Kashmir gave to man the valuable doctrines of world peace and shaivite philosophy, on the other hand it demonstrated the picture of "trident" symbolising the capacity to fight inhuman and unjust trends and traits. The pages of modern history bear testimony to the fact that the blow of the Kashmiri sword had hit distant regions in central Asia. This glorious heritage cannot be ignored.

Gonand-I

The known history of Kashmir runs side by side with the period of Mahabharta. Kalhana has started his political history of Kashmir with reference to the emperor, Gonand-I, in his book, Rajtarangani. This period concided with the coronation of Yudhishtra. The death of Kashmiri ruler, Gonand, is linked with Lord Krishna's armed campaign against the cruel rulers with reference to the killing of Jarasandh. On the banks of Yamuna near Mathura, a battle between Jarasandh and Lord Krishna was on. Since Gonand was a friend and a relation of Jarasandh, he went with his big company of soldiers to help Jarasandh. Gonand surrounded Lord Krishna on all the sides. It encouraged Jarasandh and he too moved forward to kill Krishna. After a terrific battle the joint operation of Gonand and Jarasandh failed. Lord Krishna killed Jarasandh and Balbhadr, brother of Krishna, ended the life of Gonand.

Damodar

After emperor Gonand, his son Damodar, was installed as the king with full religious ceremonies. Damodar was sad because of the martyrdom of his father, Gonand, in the battlefield at Mathura. He, therefore, challenged Krishna to a fight. That time Lord Krishna was participating in a swayamvar (marriage) at Gandhar. Like a wise politician Damodar thought it fit to launch an attack on Lord Krishna at that very jucture. But as an adept in politics and warfare, Lord Krishna gave a befitting reply to Damodar. In the ensuing battle Damodar was killed.

Rani Yashowati

The amount of interest and concern Lord Krishna had in India's administration and people is borne out by the fact that he resolved the issue of succession to the throne of Kashmir after the death of Damodar. Damodar had no son at that time. Lord Krishna installed Damodar's wife, Yashowati, on the throne of Kashmir as per his plan and scheme. At that stage

Rani Yashowati was pregnant. She gave birth to a son who was named Gonand. The same boy became famous in the history as Gonand-II. The presence of kings and rulers from whole of India at the coronation of Rani Yashowati indicates that Kashmir had friendly relations with rest of the states in India. By this time the family feud between the Korvas and the Pandavas had assumed the shape of a major political struggle the result of which was the Mahabharta war. The reason for Kashmir having not taken part in this war was that Gonand-II was young and nobody had told him to participate in the war. Possibly Lord Krishna's plan was to keep Kashmir away from the flames of war so that this seat of Indian philosophy was protected from the heat of the battlefield.

Supremacy of Pandav Kings

Historical facts are available in Rajtarangani denoting the rule of Pandav kings in Kashmir after the Mahabharat war. Sh. Gopinath Shrivastav has written in his book "Kashmir : problem and background" that after Gonand-II there were 35 kings and all the records about them have been destroyed. That is why there is no description about them. Kashmiris believe that kings of Pandav too had ruled Kashmir and among the 35 untraced kings 23 belonged to the Pandav dynasty. Martand and other temples in Kashmir are called Pandav palaces. Among those kings in oblivion was Harandev, son of Parikshat and grandson of Arjun, who had fought with his brother, Janamjai, over the state of Hastinapur. But when he could not face his brother, he fled towards the Chhamb hill and lived in a hut there where a Rishi was engaged in penance. The Rishi had predicted that one day he (Harandev) would become king of Kashmir. It is said that Harandev went to Kashmir and recruited himself in the army of Gonand-II. He became the Prime Minister because of his calibre. After Gonand-II he became the first Pandav ruler who ruled Kashmir for 30 years.

The Shankracharya temple in Kashmir can be still seen in disarray. This temple had been built under the supervision of Pandav king, Sandeepan. During the time of Sandeepan the

boundaries of Kashmir state had extended from Gandhar to Kanoj. In this dynastic tradition there was a king Bhimsen who, on the strength of Kashmiri armed forces, annexed several big and important regions in Central Asia. The account of Pandav rule given in several books in Sanskrit reveals that there used to be one type of state administration and setup in entire India. In Kalhana's Rajtarangani there is a detailed account of the political and social conditions in India during that period.

Emperor Ashoka

According to Kalhana, Magadh emperor, Ashoka, annexed Kashmir in 250 A.D. The borders of Ashoka's kingdom had extended from Bengal to Hindukush mountain (Afghanistan). He had built the city of Shrinagri which was just five kms away from the present Srinagar city. It is clear that Srinagar is the new form of old Shrinagri. The capital of Kashmir at that time was "Purandhisthan" (now Pandrethan). The temple at this place is a mute witness to the progress of that period. According to a Chinese traveller, Huen Tsang, who stayed in Kashmir for a number of years, 5,000 Buddhist monks had been settled in Kashmir during the reign of Ashoka. There was not an iota of friction between the Buddhist monks and the local people. Ashoka himself worshipped Lord Shiva. A temple got built by him was later named as Ashokkeshwar temple which remained famous. The proof of his sympathy and affection for the people is evident from the fact that he arranged construction of 16,000 residential houses. During Ashoka's time Kashmir, while becoming a centre for Buddhist philosophy, turned to be a centre of encouragement in many countries of the world. After ruling for 40 years Ashoka died.

Shiva Worshipper—Jalok

Emperor Ashoka was a Shiva worshipper. He wanted a brave successor for protecting Kashmir. He undertook rigorous penance for propitiating Lord Shiva for bestowing him a brave son. Kalhana has, in his Rajtarangani, given an account of it in lovely words.

म्लेच्छै: संच्छादिते देशे स तदुच्छित्तये नृपः ।
तपस्संतोषिताल्लेभे भूतेशात्सुकृति सुतम् । ।

Malechhas (polluted people) had polluted Kashmir. Therefore, the King, by undergoing rigorous penance, secured Jalok named son as a gift from Lord Shiva for annihilating them.

Towards the fag end of the rule of Ashoka the danger of invasion of Malechhas (foreigners) on Kashmir increased. By then the coronation of Ashoka's son, Jalok, had been completed. A daily worshipper of Shiva, Jalok was a brave and a fearless king and Malechh chieftains had to stoop in front of his calibre. Under the leadership of Jalok Kashmiri soldiers protected Kashmir against powerful invasions of foreigners. That time the boundaries of Kashmir had been extended from Kanoj to Gandhar.

Because of being a worshipper of Shiva and a strong supporter of Shaivism Jalok was regarded as a prophet of Shiva in Kashmir. Jalok emerged not only an expert on religious discourse but also influenced Buddhist scholars by Shaivism and initiated them to Shaivism. Jalok re-established Sanatan Dharam in Kashmir and he himself was a believer in non-violence. In the understanding of Buddhism and in the study of administrative system under it, Jalok demonstrated tolerance and earned the degree of a great Buddhist scholar. Many scholars from different countries were encouraged by Jalok to come to Kashmir where they were provided with facilities. That time strong relations between Kashmir and Greece were established. Kalhana has written that after conquering Kanyakubz and other lands the King summoned residents, belonging to all four castes, and experts in religious affairs to his country.

Powerful Emperor Kanishka

After king Jalok the state administration in Kashmir functioned but there was no intelligent and famous king for three centuries. Taking advantage of the fluid political situation Kushans established their foothold in Kashmir. Among the Kushan rulers Hushak, Jushak and Kanishka were famous

and their nationality was Turkish. These three kings built Hushakpur, Jushakpur and Kanishkpur towns. In politics, state craft and military campaigns Kanishka proved the most able and powerful emperor. He expanded his kingdom from the entire northern India to distant places in Central Asia with the help of his sound leadership and the strength of Kashmiris. While staying in Kashmir Kushans were influenced by the Indian culture. Kanishka adopted Buddhism and made Kashmir a powerful centre for prorogating this faith. He declared Buddhism as the State religion. He had invited the third Buddhist council. During the rule of Turkish kings Buddhism received full impetus. Buddhism spread in Sri Lanka, Burma, Java. During the time of Kanishka it was propagated in Tibet, Central Asia and China. According to Kalhana, under the supervision of Nagarjun Buddhisms spread in Kashmir and Mahayana was established. Kanishkpur, established by Kanishka, is now Kanispur in Baramulla district.

On the basis of the above mentioned facts it can be stated that by adopting Buddhism the Indianisation of Kushans was complete. Kushans fully mingled with the Indian society.

Cruel Ruler Mehrkul

In the beginning of the 6th century (515 A.D.) Huns conquered Kashmir and established their rule. In the history of Kashmir Mehrkul, leader of Huns, is known as a cruel ruler. In the mystery of conquest of Kashmir by Mehrkul, cruel ruler belonging to Huns, who perpetrated cruelty on followers of Buddhism and performed the dark deeds of inflicting pain on the people, lies the feeling of compassion of the Indians. During the initial invasions of the Huns, a famous king of Malav, Yashovarman, had halted their march by defeating them. The emperor of Magadh, Baladitya, not only defeated the Huns in the battlefield but also arrested Mehrkul. But he was released because of the orders from Baladitya's kind mother. From there Mehrkul reached Kashmir and became the king through political intrigues and conspriacies.

One Example is Enough to Highlight his Cruelty

During the time of one armed campaign his elephant slipped from the Pir Panjal mountain. Its terrible and painful cry excited and delighted Mehrkul so much that he ordered pushing down the mountain 100 elephants at a time. Such acts were part of his entertainment.

Such an inhuman trait of Mehrkul could not stand for more time in front of high values in India. In Kashmir shaivism was so powerful and strong that the united strength and capacity for work forced Mehrkul to surrender before Shiva. He not only adopted Shaivism but also established a famous Mehrashwar temple. This temple is known now as Mamleshwar temple at Phalgam. This way Kashmiris Indianised Mehrkul and his Huns the way they did to Kanishka and his Kushans in making them followers of Shaivism.

After the death of Mehrkul Kashmir remained under the rule of local rulers for many years. These very local rulers established contact with king of Ujjain, Vikrmaditya, and apprised him of the political situation in Kashmir. Vikrmaditya sent one of his able ministers, Pratapditya, as head of the state of Kashmir. It is clear that at that time Kashmir state was a constitutional member of the joint setup of Indians. The head of this joint setup used to be main Indian emperor. Pratapditya ruled Kashmir ably.

Meghwahan, the Genius

During this period Kalhana wrote the third book of Rajtarangani in which he has made a reference to the wisdom of king Meghwahan. Meghwahan was born in Gandhar. Gandhar, at that time, was an important centre of Buddhism. Buddhism had spread upto Afghanistan and Turkey because of the efforts of Kanishka. Thus Meghwahan started a strange campaign for the spread of Buddhism which in the history of the world is novel and incomparable. He decided to ban human killings in the entire world (Raj. angani -3/27). After banning

killing of animals in Kashmir he went towards the south upto Sri Lanka to make this prohibitive order effective. Meghwahan camped on the southern bank of the sea. One aborigin (Shabr) was keen to perform human sacrifice. That time Meghwahan offered himself for the sacrifice and this had caused a major transformation in the mind of the aborigine who gave up indulging in human sacrifices. (Rajtarangani-3/57). He had offered his body for sacrifice to make sincere efforts to save the life of a Brahmin boy. (Rajtarangani-3/78). The king had alienated even the demons from the acts of violence. The king got issued a proclamation not only in Kashmir but in the whole of India that whosoever he may be, living beings are not meant for killing or sacrifice. (Rajtarangani-3/88).

The wife of Meghwahan, Amritprabha, was the daughter of king of Assam. That time Assam and Bengal were under the influence of Vaishnavism. Therefore, the advent of this sect in Kashmir was the result of efforts of Amritprabha. This faith could not become as influential as Shaivism. There was no conflict or differences between it and Shaivism or Buddhism. Amritprabha had built Amrit Bhawan named monestery for providing comfort and facilities to Buddhist monks. It was called Yukaang Vihar. The flagstaff of the flag that would be hoisted on the palace was gifted to king Meghwahan by the king of Sri Lanka. It is an example of unity in India from the Himalayas to the distant south.

King Durlabhvardhan

After the Meghwahan period, the 254-year rule of Karkota dynasty on Kashmir is regarded as a golden era. The founder of this dynasty, Durlabhvardhan (625 A.D.), ascended the throne of Kashmir. The fourth book of Kalhana's Rajtarangani begins from this period. The history of Karkota dynasty is factual and solid. The famous Chinese traveller, Huen Tsang, reached Kashmir in 631 A.D. He remained in Kashmir for two years as a state guest. He has made a mention of the reign of Durlabh-vardhan in his article. According to him, Takshilla, Hazara, Poonch and Rajouri and other distant areas were

under the influence of the king. He was a powerful king who ruled a vast kingdom. The route from Kashmir to Kabul was under his control. But he was not fully independent. Emperor Harshwardhan, whose capital was Kanoj, exercised simple power on Kashmir. The economic condition in Kashmir was good. The valley was rich with fruit and flowers. Buddhism had good publicity impact.

It is clear from the account of Huen Tsang that the king of Kashmir would come under the central rule. Those modern historians, who take pride in saying that there was never any central rule in India, should learnt from it.

Chandrapeed Who Defeated Arab Invaders

In this very Karkot dynasty Chandrapeed named king set up an ideal and strong state in Kashmir. According to Sh. Gopinath Shrivastav, the king was so powerful that the King of China too would accept his importance. In 713 A.D. he sent his envoy to China with this hope that with the help of China he would attack Arab. Chandrapeed was a lover of justice. This period gives evidence to the glorious ideals of Kashmiris. It also reveals the strength and state craft of the king who demonstrated determination in excelling in valour in Arab and in forging a military treaty with China. In order to halt the march of Arab invaders Chinese troops reached Kashmir to assist Chandrapeed. A proof of this is recorded in official documents of "Ta-ang." Historian Bamzai has written that the king of China sent his troops to Kashmir and through a joint operation defeated the Arab invaders.

Kalhana in his Rajtarangani has given an account of the era of Chandrapeed in which there was justice in the state and ordinary peoples' rights were protected. These ordinary people enjoyed full rights and honour. Proper compensation used to be given to anyone whose land or property was acquired by the Government. Government employees would feel afraid in adopting unjust ways against the common people.

Rajtarangani carries a lovely description of a short story. One day the King required adequate land for the construction

of a temple at a proper place. Government officers went out in search of the land to distant areas. The land they selected for the construction of the temple belonged to a cobbler. He had his hut on the same land. By rejecting the demolition of his hut, the cobbler refused to allow the Government acquisition of his land. When this news reached the king, he, at once, ordered that the acquisition of the land be stopped. The King visited the cobbler in his hut. The King, while talking to the cobbler, requested the cobbler for shifting the hut to another place in the interest of the nation. The King explained to him that the construction of the temple was in the interest of the nation and it would not be proper for him to be an obstacle in the work. The simple cobbler too understood the matter connected with the national interest. Under the orders of the King the cobbler was given a land slightly away from his hut where he shifted his luggage on the Government expenses.

Another event which speaks of broadmindedness of Chandrapeed

The king awarded strict punishnment to a Brahmin on charge of having committed a sin. The Brahmin felt annoyed went to the King's brother, Tarapeed. He was already busy in hatching conspiracies against the King. Under the misguidance of Tarapeed the Brahmin administered a dose of poison to the king. When the king came to know about the misdeed of the Brahmin he forgave him on the plea that he was innocent. This way the end came to him even while harbouring liberal and broadminded feelings. The wife of Chandrapeed, Prakashdevi, her teacher Mihrdatta and Minister, Kalidat, too, built several temples and places of national importance.

5

Brave Emperor Lalitaditya

(Kashmiri sword upto Central Asia)

The name of Lalitaditya, a godly symbol of courage and bravery, has a top place in the history of Kashmir. He is recognised through his 37-year rule, his successful armed campaigns, his strange expertise in war, and his desire to become a world conqueror. Continuous fighting without getting tired, remaining busy in battles and achieving success in the battlefield through his unique fighting skill were his qualities which were similar to those of Alexander. Lalitaditya conquered Punjab, Kanoj, Badakshan and Beijing and returned to Kashmir after 12 years. When he set out with his troops for Punjab, the people in Punjab welcomed him with great affection. After dislodging the Punjab ruler, Yashovarman, Punjab was merged with the borders of Kashmir. Lalitaditya expanded his empire to Bengal, Orrisa and Bihar through his armed campaigns. This Army exercise successfully marched ahead to Gujarat, Malwa and Mewar. With these successful armed campaigns, the name of Kashmir and its brave sons became famous not only in India but in the entire world. Great empires bowed their head in front of chivalrous Kashmiris.

Victory after Victory

After achieveing victory upto the distant south Lalitaditya was attracted to achieve new heights. According to historian, Mazumdar, Lalitaditya concentrated his attention towards the areas in the north after important victories in the south. His empire had been extended upto the remote corner of the mountain range in Karakorums, a highway linking China with

India. In the beginning of the 8th century the Arab invasion had started knocking at the door of Kabul valley. During this period the Muslim power in Sindh was trying to march towards the north. When the empires of Kabul and Gandhar were busy in these invasions, Lalitaditya got a nice opportunity for establishing his foothold in the north. He moves, with his victorious army, from Dardistan to Turkey. The entire area was rich in Kashmiri traditions and education because of the efforts of unlimited number of monks and Kashmiri people in towns of central Asia. It is not difficult to understand that Lalitaditya achieved an easy victory in this region. After the end of Teng reign, those states that had come under the Chinese rule had disintegrated because of civil wars.

(R.C. Mazumdar, Ancient India, Page 383).

Kashmir, at that time, was the most powerful state. During the time of Lalitaditya its boundaries had extended from Tibet in the east to Iran and Turkey in the west and from Central Asia in the north to Orrisa and the seashores of Dwarika in the south.

Lalitaditya evinced interest in other spheres besides his army life. Art and trade received importance during his reign. Religious festivals were being held. Lalitaditya provided special facilities and encouragement to paintings and sculpture. He was a successful writer and a Veena player. Bamzai has written that Lalitaditya's war victories have received special place among different accounts of his reign. Later on he was made a hero of Kashmiris. On the basis of his building art, great work connected with human welfare, his love for education, protection to scholars and his image of a kind conqueror Ashoka is considered as the greatest ruler of Kashmir.

Martand Sun Temple : Example of India's Greatest Art

The most memorable and beautiful work of Lalitaditya is the construction of spacious Martand temple which the emperor got built in honour of the Sungod (Bhaskar). It may be mentioned here that Lalitaditya was himself a Kshatriya of

Surya dynasty. The style of the construction of the temple and the skill of the makers are rare in the history of the world.

According to Stein, it is not possible to find and excavate cities, towns and the ruins belonging to the era of Lalitaditya. But from whatever material and ruins, found and excavated so far, one learns about the fame of their maker Lalitaditya. The remnants of the big Martand temple, which the emperor had built at the pilgrimage of the same name, is an example of unique building skill of ancient Hindus. These ruins, even in total disarray, receive praises for their design, beauty and art.

(Stein : Translation of Rajtarangani, Page 60)

According to Younghusband Martand has a very high place in the world's great architecutral designs. It is an example of not only the Kashmiri architectural skill but it has pride of having been set up at a fine spot which is prettier than the spots where Parthinan, Taj Mahal, St. peters have been built. It can be considered either a representative of all such great buildings and monuments or a combination and sum total of all the qualities. It gives an insight into the greatness of the people of Kashmir.

The ruins of the huge temple stand in a square field with snow capped mountains of the smiling valley as the background. In terms of beauty and strength and in grandeur it is next to Egypt and Greece. This temple has been built with strong and square limestones. The temple has received grandeur and beauty through the pillars of Greek pattern. It is now in ruins and there are many such ruins scattered in Kashmir. The very existence of this temple encourages man to carry out study of the skill and art of Kashmiris. Anyone bereft of the love of nature could not select such a special spot for the construction of the temple. A restless and destructive mind would have not been able to built such a spacious and praiseworthy temple.

(Younghusband : Kashmir, Page 201)

Martand temple is a mirror of the art and skill of Kashmiri Hindus. This way Lalitaditya should not be considered a founder of a vast empire but also a founder of art and skill of Kashmiri Hindus for six centuries.

All Embracing Attitude

The society, during the reign of Lalitaditya, was happy and prosperous. There was arrangement for an open trade with almost all the countries in Asia. There were ample facilities for agriculture and many new things were invented. Irrigation was given priority. Lalitaditya got built victory memorials in his honour in foreign lands. There is description of Sunishchitpur and Darpitpur towns in Rajtarangani, even if the ruins of these cities have been plundered by the Muslim invaders. He got built, Phalpur and Parnotsav towns, the former is now Shadipur and the latter Poonch. Lalitaditya built a big temple at Lalitput, which is now Letpora. The emperor built one monastery and a big Buddhist temple at Hushakpur, which is now Ushkar. In the history of Kashmir the Martand temple and Parihaspur town are immortal. Parihaspur is close to Shadipur.

(Kashmir : Gopinath Shrivastav, Page 25)

Emperor Lalitaditya was a devotee of Lord Vishnu. Daily worship of Vishnu was an essential part of his life. He was an idealist Hindu. Having faith in Hindu religion he had liberal outlook towards Buddhism. A huge Buddhist monastery was built during his reign. The emperor gifted 84,000 tolas of gold for its construction. This was named as "Raj vihar". What else can be a befitting example of the emperor's equal treatment for all sects and faiths to which he provided equal opportunities.

The Golden Age of Hindu Self-respect

The greatness of Lalitaditya is hidden in his tolerance towards all religions and in his benevolence towards people and conquered rulers. Even while accepting Hindu religion he respected Buddhism and established number of Buddhist monasteries and temples. His army chief was a Buddhist and majority of his officers belonged to different sects. He had respect and equal feeling for scholars of every country. Because of being a supporters and protector of education scholars from India and other countries would come to his court. After the defeat of Yashovarman he brought Bhavbooti and Pakshpatiraj

poets from Kanoj to the capital of Kashmir where they were given honour and suitable posts.

(History of Kashmir : Bamzai, Page 124)

Lalitaditya invited known and wise people from abroad to Kashmir. It is learnt from the writings of Albrooni, a foreign historian, that the emperor installed a Turkish Sardar, Kanikuniya, as a minister. Later on the Sardar adopted Buddhism. The practice of holding an annual festival was established in Kashmir from this time. This festival was being held for many centuries in order to commemorate Lalitadity's victory on Turkey. The golden age of Hindu self-respect started in Kashmir with Lalitaditya. Emperor Lalitaditya had become a symbol of greatness and tolerance of Hindu religion.

An account of Lalitaditya's successful war campaigns is given in a letter written by a ruler of Sindh to the first, Muslim invader, Mohd. Bin Qasim. He writes: "If I had sent the ruler of Kashmir, at whose door many Indian kings have bowed their heads, who shakes the whole of India, even Makraan and Turaan countries."

(Gopinath Shrivastav : Kashmir problem and background)

Lalitaditya had opened an embassy in China which was welcomed there. He was a maker of a great empire.

The era of Lalitaditya had brought a message of peace, prosperity and riches. He was tolerant towards all the religion of his time. Everyone enjoyed protection in his reign. Temples of Shiva, Vishnu and other deities were constructed. Kashmir became a centre for foreign scholars and learned people.

An Able Administrator

Emperor Lalitaditya was a unique warrior, victorious, lover of art and literature but he was equally a successful administrator. He did not allow any revolt, civil strife, and communal hatred to grow in his empire. There is no political leader or emperor in the history of the world who can be compared to Lalitaditya.

An account about "Domar" and "Domars' revolt" has found repeated mention in the political history of Kashmir. Domar people have opposed Government orders and directions while being encouraged by wealth and power, illegal occupation of Government and private land and creating an atmosphere of anarchy used to be some of their activities. In the initial stage the domar word was used for the tribe of forest dwellers and later powerful sardar would be called Domar. Gradually this word was used for describing that person or a group of persons who would take part in any struggle or rebellion against the administration. Lalitaditya did not allow any rebellion to grow in his rule. Even during his war campaigns outside Kashmir he would keep an eye on such revolts. He gave the following instructions to his ministers during one such campaign.

"It should be kept in view that in the godowns there let be foodgrains for them for not more than one year. For the purpose of ploughing there should be as many bullocks as are necessary, because if they have more wealth, they would become arrogant Domars and by becoming powerful will not accept the orders of the king."

(Kalhana's Rajtarangani)

After Lalitaditya the rebellion of Domars restarted and there was some sort of anarchy in the administration in Kashmir for some period.

King Jayapeed

Jayapeed was the first king to rule Kashmir for 31 years. He too was considered an expert in war campaigns like Lalitaditya. After assuming control over the entire region upto Prayag, he reached upto Bengal where he married the daughter of king Jayant. Jayant too assisted Jayapeed in his war campaigns. When he returned from his successful war campaigns alongwith his soldiers to Kashmir, the king of Kanoj, Vajrudh, challenged him in the way. Jayapeed defeated him. On his arrival in Kashmir he waged a successful battle against his brother-in-law, Jajaz, who had, while taking advantage of

Jayapeed's absence, taken control of the administration in Kashmir.

Jayapeed invaded Nepal also. But he was defeated and arrested. Jayapeed, who was imprisoned in a terrible and fortified fortress, managed to escape with the help of his supporter, Dev Varman. It was because of his unique sacrifice that Jayapeed succeeded in reaching Kashmir.

As a result of Dev Varman's successful plan he succeeded in jumping over the wall of the fortress. But soon after climbing over the wall he had to cross the stream flowing adjacent to the wall. Dev Varman committed suicide and Jayapeed crossed the stream with the help of his dead body.

King Jaypriya

In this category is another well-known and powerful king called Jaypriya. He was, besides a successful battle commander, a scholar. Besides providing manifold facilities for education he made a valuable contribution to spiritual field. There were many poets and philosophers during his period. Vasugupt, a scholar of Shaivism, remained active during this period. A Chinese traveller, Ayukong, came to Kashmir during this time and stayed for four years to carry out study of Sanskrit and Buddhism. During this time Kayast community came into being on the strength of its wealth and wisdom. Its conflict and confrontation was with the Brahmin community. Jaypriya sided with Kayast against the Brahmins. Jaypriya had to embrace death by being a victim of the conspiracies hatched by the Brahmins.

6

Karmyogi Emperor Avantivarman

(Era of development, prosperity and stability)

The 28-years rule of Awantivarman holds importance in the history of Kashmir so far peace, development and justice are concerned. Emperor Avantivarma did not wage any war in this era. Instead of spending time in the battlefields, he concentrated on the development of his empire. While announcing that his aim was to provide happiness to people, he started several schemes for public facilities in the entire state.

Right from the beginning agriculture used to be affected by floods and other natural calamities. As a result of food shortage people had to face famines many times. During the time of emperor Lalitaditya some measures were taken to control these natural calamities but such measures bore no fruits except temporary relief. This problem assumed terrible shape during the time of Avantivarman. The state was hit by a severe famine because of food shortage and the miserable people started sending their delegations to Avantivarman.

Background of the River Valley Project

At that time one Suya named competent engineer offered his services to Avantivarman for rooting out the entire problem. This engineer visited these catchment areas in the state which would cause floods. In many places landslides would block the flow of the rivers and change their course. The same very water would become source of destruction in the shape of floods in villages and towns. It was necessary to remove these bottle-

necks.

Avantivarman immediately gave permission to this young engineer to complete this project. Adequate funds were provided for this scheme from the treasury. It is said that Suya collected money into several bundles and threw them, in public sight, in the depth of blocked water of the rivers. When famine hit people came to know about it, they jumped into the water to search for the money and collect it by removing the boulders from the river. This way the bottlenecks were removed and the danger of floods ended with the increase in the flow of the river water.

From the above anectode it can be learnt that Suya found solution to this problem through strength of peoples' power. Solid river banks were constructed which systemised the water flow. Several irrigation schemes were completed and reforms in agriculture led to increase in production. As a result of it prices witnessed a big decrease. Through his understanding and calibre Suya achieved success in channelising the flow of river Vitasta (Jehlum). Suya had prepared the background for the current multi-purpose river-valley project many years ago. Avantivarman supported all these national activities. He got no time in engaging himself, like Lalitaditya, in war campaigns because of his preoccupation with the projects connected with peoples welfare and with the all round progress of the country. After Lalitaditya many kings of the regions, conquered by Lalitaditya, declared independence. Avantivarman made no attempt at annexing these regions with his state, though at that time also the army strength in Kashmir was perfect. Had Avantivarman concentrated on protection of the borders and on annexation of old areas of Kashmir with his kingdom through war campaigns alongwith his attention towards development works, he would have achieved greater fame than Lalitaditya.

Avantivarmn's emotional mind had a special attraction for natural wealth. That is why there are many instances which speak of his sympathy and love for mountains, rivers, forests, birds and animals. Government orders issued by him and different schemes completed by him give a glimpse of pain hidden in his mind. There was total ban on killings. He had so

much hatred for the killers that he would not forgive them. Avantivarman's chief engineer and advisor on irrigation, Suya, had banned angling in the Wullar lake. Under the special orders of the king, hunting of birds and animals was prohibited. It will not be wrong to consider Avantivarman and his expert, Suya, as the main ambassadors of all the projects connected with environment protection in the modern times. Both of them utilised their means and strength in the protection of nature's wealth.

Kalhana has, in his Rajtarangani, made a mention of it. He has written that the fish would come out of the cold water and bask on the river bank without any fear.

Devotee of Art

Avantivarman provided all opportunities and facilities to people for progress in all spheres of development, construction and welfare. He encouraged his friends, relations and members of his council of ministers to join hands in carrying out development works. Prime Minister Shoor built a spacious shur Shiv temple and a lovely shur monestery on the famous bank of the Dal Lake. Avantivarman too supervised construction of several temples and monesteries. The ruins of the two famous temples, Avantishwar and Avantiswamin, built through him, give an introduction of the pinnacles of our ancient glory. Any visitor to Phalgam goes to Avantipur to have a glimpse of these temples.

The plunder and destruction of these unique monuments, memorials and proofs of the Indian culture indicate the nature of the Greek sultans and their evil deeds. These scattered ruins are a living example of the ideology of fanaticism and inhumanity.

A British historian, Percie Brown, has written that when Martand was witness to the sudden glory at a time Kashmir re-established awakening in its strength, Awantiswamin temple is more attractive and which has been built, with the passage of time, through sound experience.

Successful Diplomat

Awantivarman was an able and successful administrator. This period witnessed some revolts. One rebellion was the result of intrigues engineered by the brothers of Awantivarman and the other by Domar community. Awantivarman achieved success in crushing both the rebellions with the help of his powerful Prime Minister, Shoor. Shoor was powerful besides being a clever politician. When the Damar community started grabbing illegally temple lands, under the leadership of their leader, Dhamar, Prime Minister, Shoor, through the policy of deception finished Dhamar and other conspirators. Shoor assembled all the prominent leaders of Domars in a temple situated at Bhutesh, now Bhuthar and after surrounding them from all the four sides got them killed. For several years after this incident no one dared to glance at the temple.

Mr. Jagmohan has written in his book that from all angles the period of Awantivarman was a period of glory in the history of Kashmir. There was then peace, progress and justice. There was understanding between the king and his ministers. There was awakening about religionism and conservation of nature and interest in high principles of art and culture was their religion. The king's religious inclinations are borne out by the fact that he would listen to the recitation of the Bhagvat Gita when he was confined to bed owing to illness. And while listening to the verses from this holy book he embraced death. Awantivarman was the first Vaishnav king during whose reign Vishnu temples had been built in Kashmir.

King Shankarvarman Conquered Kabul

After Awantivarman his son, Shankarvarman, occupied the throne. He decided to annexe those states which had been conquered during the time of Lalitaditya by restarting the war campaigns which had been stopped during his father's (Awantivarman) time. With this aim he set out with his Army and while conquering small and major states reached Kabul. That time Kabul was ruled by a Hindu king, Lallaya. His people did not support him. Shankarvarman emerged victorious and

Kabul came under the control of Kashmir. During the time of Shankarvarman Kashmir became strong politically and militarily. It is worth mentioning here that during the time of Lalitaditya Kashmir had become strong militarily. During the period of Awantivarman Kashmir became strong economically. But during the time of Shankarvarman Kashmir started achieving progress in both the fields.

Shankarvarman got success in establishing direct rapport with the people as a successful politician. Though Sanskrit was the official language at that time, Shankarvarman started talking to people in simple Kashmiri language. Many Brahmin scholars of Sanskrit were annoyed over the patronage and encouragement being given to Kashmiri language but Shankarvarman became a favourite king of the people.

As a result of gaining control over Kabul many influential leaders emerged on the scane in Kabul who challenged Shankarvarman, king of Kashmir. Though both Kabul and Kashmir were completely Hindu regions, it was not easy to gain control over the people of Kabul with arms strength. History is witness to the fact that brave Hindu kings and courageous people of Kabul (Gandhar) faced boldy Arab and other Muslim invaders for 400 years. But they never accepted defeat even for a single day. India could, in this era (663-1021 A.D.), protect its north-west borders.

King Gopalvarman's Strategy

After succeeding Shankarvarman as King of Kashmir Gopalvarman gave a proof of being an able strategist by changing his policies following his understanding of the spirit of bravery and self-respect of the people of Kabul. He sent a group of soldiers, under the leadership of an officer, Prabhakar Dev, to Kabul to pacify the revolt and control the disrupted administrative setup there. After his initial victory Prabhakar Dev thought it better to hold parleys with the king of Kabul, Lallaya. The parleys were successful and under an agreement Tromanna, son of Lallaya, was installed on the throne of Kabul. In the presence of Prabhakar Dev and through his blessings

Tromanna's coronation as Kamluk was completed. This way the relations between Kabul and Kashmir became strong. Justice Jia Lal Kilam has written in his book "History of Kashmiri Pandit" that Hindu kingdom of Kabul was very close to Kashmir. Kashmir had religious relations with Kabul. There were also political relations between the two countries which can be witnessed these days.

In this context reference can be made to a great Arabian scholar, Albrooni, who had come to India with Mohd. Gaznavi in the 11th century. He stayed in India for many years and wrote a book on India. In this book he has given a vivid account of the social, political and economic conditions of India of that time. Hindu kings would live in Kabul. The last Hindu (Kshatriya community) king was Lagutarman and one of his ministers was a Brahmin, Kallar. Lagutarman was a person of evil and mean nature. That is why the minister enchained him and occupied the throne. After him Samand, Kamaloo, Bhim, Jaypal, Anandpal and Trilochanpal Brahmin kings ruled Kabul.

During the time of Shakarvarman relations developed between the two royal dynasties of Kashmir and Kabul. The king of Kabul's daughter, Didha, was married to Khemgupt, king of Kashmir. The same king of Kabul, Bhimdev, came to Kashmir to stay for some years and got a spacious Vishnu temple built. This Bhimkeshav temple still exists in village Bumzoo, near Mattan. But now it is a Muslim shrine and is called Bamdin Sahib.

7

Chivalrous Lohar Dynasty

Mohd. Gaznavi faced defeat, twice, in the hands of Kashmiris and thereafter he never turned his face towards Kashmir throughout his life.

Didda, daughter of a great Lohar Sardar, Simhraj, established her political vigour and shine on Kashmir continuously for 50 years through her strong strategy. The centre of Lohar dynasty was at Lohrin which is now in Poonch district of the state. Prominent kings of this dynasty have carved out a special place in the history of Kashmir. Queen Didda, on the basis of her social traditions, not only ruled the state with courage and skill but also handedover power to her successor prince within the dynasty just before her death.

Rani Didda, a Successful Ruler

In 950 A.D. Emperor Khemgupt occupied the throne of Kashmir. Didda, by her beauty, clever speech and dramatic behaviour, influenced King Khemgupt to the extent of casting a spell on, him with the result that it was considered necessary to consult Didda on every matter connected with the running of the state administration. Whether in the matter of appointment of Army commanders and administrative officers or in the field of trade, agriculture and industry her guidance and interference remained quite apparent. As a result of her interest in state administration Didda not only gained experience in political activities but it also developed in her mind self-praise, expectations and determination. The reins of Khemgupt were completely in the hands of Didda. Didda held these reins

in such a successful manner that the emperor was called "Didda-Khem".

For eight years Didda held the reigns of the administration in Kashmir as the wife of the emperor. Khemgupt's second wife, Chandralekha, was the daughter of Prime Minister, Phalgun. Didda, through affection, kept her also in control. In 958 A.D. Khemgupt died and Didda arranged the coronation of his son Abhimanyu, even if he was quite young. This way she held all the sources of the administration in her hands. She organised the state setup in a nice but tough ways. She ordered several changes for keeping Government employees and officers in her control. She gave key posts to men of her choice and sacked those whose bonafides were in doubt. While declaring many people as guilty Didda ordered their imprisonment and execution. Where Didda has been dubbed as ruthless by the historians, there she is also treated as a successful administrator.

Didda ruled for 14 years as mother of the king. In 972 A.D. king Abhimanyu died. After his death Didda installed his son, Nandigupt, on the throne. But she held the reins of the Government in her hands. By this time bitter and cruel behaviour of Didda had touched new heights. But the death of Abhimanyu had resulted in deep mental depression in Didda. Her behaviour later witnessed transformation and the death of her son awakened in her the beauty of female characteristics. Her attention was now drawn towards construction and development works of the state. Many development schemes were launched. Monasteries and temples were built. Experts in the different fields came in the forefront and as per the desire of Didda many new villages and towns were inhabited. She evinced interest in the construction of temples. There is one locality in Srinagar which is called Didda road. Here Didda got built a huge building under the name of "Didda Math".

This way Didda took the responsibility of running the state administration as grandmother of the king. In 975 A.D. Didda installed, Bhimgupt, second son of Abhimanyu and her grandson, on the throne of Kashmir. The old bitterness and

cruelty re-emerged in her. Thus that religious feelings, spiritualism, constructive mind which had emerged in her mind for a brief period went into oblivion again. King Bhimgupt kept on tolerating it with a pinch of salt. Bhimgupt, having been installed on the throne because of the kindness of his grandmother, wanted to do something but remained helpless. Officers of the administration, Army commanders and influential section among the people remained under the control of Didda. In order to save his throne the king adopted the policy of appeasement of this section of the society for their support.

This is but natural. When power is secured through the influential people of the society, it becomes necessary to adopt the policy of appeasement to keep this section of this society in good humour. National interest gets eclipsed in front of appeasement and the nation and the society are pushed to the background.

When Bhimgupt opposed his grandmother, she gave an angry look. With the help of her trusted men in the administration Didda got Bhimgupt arrested and sent him to the jail. Bhimgupt died in the prison. In 980 A.D. Didda herself became the empress of Kashmir. Now Didda ruled like a dictator after assuming powers as the constitutional head.

She started reorganising the administrative setup strictly with her experienced hands and as per her desires. Both self-respect and sound state setup, influenced her style of functioning. Almost a campaign was started for installing favourites on the keyposts. An ordinary and simple shephered, named Tung, was her lover. Tung was physically well-built and had received military training. Didda, on becoming the queen, had installed Tung as the Prime Minister. Didda did not give any hint of this plan to any of her ministers and advisors. Many ministers and advisors were annoyed over this dictatorial attitude. But no one had the strength to oppose this deed of Didda.

One thing special in the political acumen and functioning of Didda was that no administrative officers got time for their joint activities. Didda had finished all the arrangements for conveying their joint opinion to the queen. When, once the

voices of dissent against this behaviour of queen echoed, the Prime Minister, Tung, stiffled these voices of dissent. All the rebels were defeated and the flames of rebellion subsided. In this context Didda can be described as a successful leader. According to Gopinath Shrivastav, Didda remained the queen for 25 years. During this period she hatched number of conspiracies, killed many innocent people and many were thrown out of the country. All this had been done by her to save her throne. Even if Didda's character was bad and she had sinned, still she had run the administration successfully.

There are instances in the history which speak about Didda's strict administrative setup, about her capacity to eliminate rebels but there is no strong basis for her character assassination done by the historians. Her capabilities outshine her minus points.

It is a measuring rod for a woman's success, calibre and determination to rule continuously for 254 years. It is difficult to have an example similar to Didda in the history of the world. First as a queen, then as guardian of her son and grandson and finally as a ruler she remained an unchallenged prominent lady. Didda is one among those characters in the history who can be praised and criticised. She kept her country united despite many problems and this she could do through her success in controlling conspiracies, killings and politics of intrigues.

When queen Didda became old she requested Samgramraj, son of her brother, Uday Raj, who was the ruler of Lohar, to run the Government. This way Didda herself performed the coronation of her nephew.

King Sangramraj Who Forced Mohd. Gaznavi to Lick Dust

After conquering Iran, Turkey and some parts of India, Mohd. Gaznavi returned defeated twice from the soil of Kashmir. It is a historical fact that he could not face the thrust of the swords of Kashmiri soldiers forcing him to give up his desire of conquering Kashmir. This chivalrous king ruled

Kashmir from 1003 to 1028 A.D. The last invasion on India by Mohd. Gaznavi took place in 1030 A.D.

Sangramraj had understood the style of invasion of Mohd. Gaznavi. He issued instructions to his soldiers to remain alert on the borders of Kashmir after realising the gravity of the invasion of Mohd. Gaznavi which was based on fraud, deception, destruction of places of worship, rape and other evil practices. People in the border areas were given training so that they were capable enough to face any eventuality. Albrooni has made a mention of the security arrangements made on the borders with the help of people. He has written that people of Kashmir "remain all the time eager about the actual strength of their country". That is why they have been keeping a strict watch on gateways of Kashmir and other border routes.

According to Albrooni, as a result of it, it was difficult to have any trade transactions with the people. At that time they would not allow even Hindus, not to speak of others, to enter the country.

Mohd. Gaznavi attacked India's borders many times. This demon trampled many towns. After conquering Nagarkot fortress in Kangra his eagle-eyed gaze fixed on independent Kashmir. In order to win Kashmir he launched an attack in 1015 A.D. He and his soldiers camped in Tousi named field near Lohkot fort. Any stream is called Tousi. A similar stream at this place joins river Jehlum and that is why it was called Tousi Maidaan.

The news of the invasion of Mohd. Gaznavi reached king Sangramraj through intelligence sleuths and because of vigilance on the border. The Army of Kashmir marched under the leadership an able Chief, Tung. In Kabul, adjacent to Kashmir, Trilochanpal was the king. Trilochanpal himself came to Tousi Maidaan alongwith his troops. Gaznavi's soldiers were surrounded from all the four sides. His soldiers were experienced in fighting wars in the plains but were ignorant about the mountain routes. The war style, based on intrigues, of Mohd. Gaznavi was beaten in front of the clever mountain warfare of the Kashmiri soldiers. The Toushi battlefield was full of the dead bodies of the soldiers of Gaznavi. In the initial stages

Lohkot fort was in the hands of Mohd. Gaznavi but he, with his small group of soldiers, had to flee for safety when a company of soldiers, sent by Sangramraj, well trained in breaking the fortification, surrounded the fort and entered into it.

Cambridge History of India has given a clear description of it. It has recorded that in India it was the first defeat of Mohd. Gaznavi. His soldiers lost their way on unknown mountain routes and their retreat route was blocked by flood water. After the death of many soldiers, Gaznavi's troops fled in the plains and could reach Gazni in great disorder and disarray.

Even after having been mauled by the Kashmir soldiers, the urge for conquering Kashmir further strengthened in the mind of Gaznavi who had recognised the fighting style of the troops in Kashmir. He could not control his desire and in 1021 A.D. he came to invade Kashmir again. This time also he camped at the Lohkot fort. The King of Kabul, Trilochanpal, again surrounded him and his troops started pushing them back. But Mohd. Gaznavi had come fully prepared this time for the invasion and the pain of his earlier defeat was still fresh. Another defeat turned him miserable like a mad animal. Sangramraj also sent his soldiers in support of Trilochanpal. The soldiers of Gaznavi started facing defeat in all departments. After facing another defeat Mohd. Gaznavi returned to Gazni. After this he never dared to look at Kashmir.

A Muslim historian, Najim, has written in his book "Mohammad of Gazni" that in order to avenge his first defeat and in order to regain his prestige Mohd. Gaznavi launched another attack on Kashmir from the very old route. But again the Lohkot fort stopped his march. After a month of unsuccessful fortification Gaznavi thought it fit to flee in the light of his scare over possible disaster. This defeat made him to realise the invincibility of Kashmir state and he gave up his idea of capturing Kashmir.

Prior to these two wars the Kokhar community in south of Kashmir had assisted Anandpal when Gaznavi invaded his country in 1008 A.D. Hindu women sold their ornaments for helping Anandpal to face the powerful attack of Gaznavi.

King Trilochanpal, Symbol of Unique Chivalry

The chivalry of Trilochanpal in the above two battles has a significant place. Trilochanpal was son of king Anandpal. Trilochanpal, the last Hindu ruler of Kabul, was brave and hardworking and well versed in the battle strategy of the Muslims. He had remained, during the time of his father, the Army Chief. He had achieved success in blunting many Muslim invasions in many wars. He was a skilful and able Army commander in fighting mountain warfare. Kalhana has, in Rajtarangani, given a lovely account of Trilochanpal's war tactics :—

कस्त्रिलोचनपालस्य महात्म्यं वक्तुमीश्वरः ।
निःसंख्या अपि यं संख्ये न जेतुमशकन्द्विषः ।

(राज० 61)

(Who can be competent in describing chivalry of Trilochanpal? He could not be defeated by innumerable enemies in numbered battles.)

The Persian historians have made an attempt at concealing this defeat of Gaznavi. They have said that because of floods Gaznavi had to return. But Nizamuddin, a Muslim historian, has accepted the defeat of Mohd. Gaznavi. According to him, in 1021 A.D. Gaznavi invaded Lohkot second time but had to retreat after facing defeat.

One Persian historian Pir Hassan has crossed all the limits while heaping praises on Mohd. Gaznavi. He has said that Sangramraj, after sensing incapacity to face Gaznavi, got himself employed with the Sultan after great entreaties. The Sultan, according to Pir Hassan, had asked him why he had made himself despicable and helpless. The King had replied that gentle people treat it a means of aggrandisement and honour to show hospitality to the guests. The Sultan was impressed by his gift of the gab and after giving him fine dresses and fixing rumeneration he returned the throne of Kashmir to him.

Pir Hassan has, in his above mentioned analysis, made Mohd. Gaznavi a godly person who welcomes even a defeated ruler. Who will believe that Gaznavi, who destroyed idols in thousands of temples, who sold lakhs of Hindu women, after enslaving them, in the bazaars of Gazni, murderer of lakhs of Hindu civilians, and who converted forcibly lakhs of Hindus to Islam, can return honourably the kingdom to Sangramraj ? It is impossible to believe for all those who have even slight information about inhuman nature of Muslim invaders, their terrible and demonic activities, to support the contention of Pir Hassan. Had King Sangramraj been defeated by Gaznavi, he would have arrested him and taken him to Gazni. He too would have been given the same treatment that was later meted out to Prithiviraj Chauhan, Guru Tegbahadur, Guru Arjundev and Bairagi.

According to Dr. Raghunath Singh, a known commentator of Rajtarangani, Pir Hassan's description is one-sided and limited to an attempt at highlighting importance of Mohd. Gaznavi and inferiority of Kashmiris. The above mentioned incident finds no corraboration and support in any history. Mohd. Gaznavi never entered the valley of Kashmir. The assertions of Pir Hassan are false. The story that Gaznavi came to Kashmir and Sangramraj stooped has been fabricated to denigrade Sangramraj and to establish importance of Mohd. Gaznavi in the eyes of the world.

Possibly Kalhana has made a mention of Gaznavi's invasion of 1013 A.D. His description stands the test of modern research. During this time Trilochanpal had faced Muslim invaders in Punjab for the last time. It is learnt that Mohammad had retreated after a struggle with Trilochanpal in any valley from Jehlum to Kashmir. Some kings of border states of Kashmir might have surrendered before Gaznavi but Kashmir had measured swords with him. Sangramraj had not bowed his head before Mohammad.

King Sangramraj had understood the dangers of the invasions of Mohd. Gaznavi. That is why he accepted the request from Trilochanpal and sent immediately soldiers of Kashmir to fight against Gaznavi. It becomes evident that the

farsighted, schemer and patriotic King Sangramraj was the greatest Indian ruler of that time.

Short-sighted King Harsh

After Sangramraj his son, Harsh, ruled Kashmir for 21 years. He was a poet. He provided many facilities in the field of literature. He faced many rebellions through his strength . He reorganised the Army and the administration and introduced reservation in the Army and the administration on the basis of caste. The impact of this short-sightendness was harmful on later history of Kashmir.

According to Kalhana, Harsh prepared a list of Muslims and reorganised the Army on a different pattern. Each group of 100 soldiers was kept under the command of a Muslim officer so that it would be impossible for soldiers to revolt or flee from their country. After Harsha Muslims emerged as one class in the field of politics. For a long time they established contacts with the rulers of the country and helped them to retain power on the tottering thrones. Muslims became an important part of the political field because of their qualities to fight wars and on account of reservation granted to them by the royalty.

Brave Jaisingh

Kashmir remained under the rule of Jaisingh from 1128 to 1140 A.D. He faced successfully many problems and ordeals as he was a strong willed person. He would remain worried on account of growing Muslim strength on north-western region of India. In the light of the possible threat of these dangers he started parlays on this issue with heads of many states adjacent to Kashmir. He initiated many friendly meetings with king of Kanoj, Givind Chander. King Jaisingh also moulded his foreign policy as per these conditions. With the help of neighbouring Hindu kings Jaisingh succeeded in controlling the growing Muslim strength. At that time foreign rulers, especially Muslims Sultans, had cast their evil gaze on Kashmir. As a result of Harsha's broadmindedness and wrong reorganisation of the Army, professional Muslim soldiers and other people had found

entry in the Army and the administration. Thus an atmpshere of conflict and confrontation had developed. In order to enlist confidence of such elements the king of Kashmir began providing them more facilities.

This new policy of liberalism which had developed in Kashmir had started damaging the traditional and natural unity. The strength of Kashmir started declining, there appeared cracks in the feeling of coexistence, internal strife took birth, the poison of religious conversion spread and ways were cleared for converting Hindu Kashmir into Muslim Kashmir.

Rinchan—A Tibetan fugitive

After king Jaisingh the throne of Kashmir was occupied by many kings, one after the other, for about 150 years. Sehdev occupied the throne in 1301 A.D. Like Harsha, Sehdev too gave freedom to foreign elements to enter the administration. This very time a Tibetan fugitive, Rinchan, came to the court of Sehdev alongwith a group of many of his colleagues. A Muslim Sardar from Turkey too came during the same time. Sehdev appointed both of them on high posts in the administration. Besides being short-sighted Sahdev was also a coward.

Historian Hassan has written in "History of Kashmir" that time moved on till Kashmir was rocked by a terrible misfortune. This led to a strange trouble which was a beginning of a change of era. Tatar Chieftan, Dulchoo, invaded Kashmir with 70,000 strong soldiers. Sahdev fled towards Kishtwar after leaving his state at the mercy of cruel invader. Dulchoo ordered genocide and thousands of people were killed. More people than that were sold to Tatar traders who had accompanied the Chieftain. Towns were set ablaze and the standing crops were damaged. After staying here for eight months Dulchoo carried with him 50,000 enslaved Brahmins. However, while crossing the Devsar pass his entire Army and the slaves were killed in avalanches.

At that time the condition of people was pitiable. Jonraj has written that when Dulchoo left the place, the people of Kashmir, who had gone into hiding to evade arrest, came out

of the secret places like rats coming out of their burrows. When violence, initiated by Dulchoo stopped, the son lost his father, the father had to lose his son and the brother could not meet his brother. Kashmir turned into its pre-existence stage; an area where was only grass, nothing but grass and no foodgrains.

(Joanraj : Rajtarangani, Page 152-55)

At the time of invasion of Dulchoo Army Chief of the state, Ramchandra, took advantage of the anarchy which had spread in the entire region following the fleeing of king Sehdev to occupy the throne. But the Tibetan fugitive, Rinchan, who was given a key post in the administration by Sehdev, took advantage of his influence and revolted to oust Ramchandra from power. Ramchandra fled alongwith the members of his family and took refuge in the Lohar fortress. In order to implement his conspiracy Rinchan sent some of his trusted colleagues to Ramchandra for truce.

As per the plan, these associates of Rinchan had gone hiding weapons beneath their garments. Parleys were started with Ramchandra and they fraudulently killed him. This way Rinchan became the king of Kashmir. The death of Ramchandra shocked the people of Kashmir. Some rebellious activities took place but Rinchan by marrying the daughter of Ramchandra, Kotarani, pacified the peoples' anger. On the behest of Kotarani Rinchan adopted Hindu religion after discarding Buddhism. But the Kashmiri pandits did not accept him in Hindu religion. Out of reaction to it, Rinchan adopted Islam. This way Rinchan was the first Muslim convert ruler of Kashmir and he became Malik Sadruddin.

8

Queen Kota, Statesman

Strong, diplomat, and as good administrator and responsible politician Queen Kota was the last Hindu ruler of Kashmir. She realised the terrible results of the religious conversion started by foreign religious preachers, who had come to Kashmir, and she, accordingly, channelised her activities. She saw supporters of Buddhism ruinning the basic structure of India in league with foreign elements. Worried over this, Queen Kotarani tried all that she could to protect Kashmir and ensure safety of the mainstream of the values of Indian life, of which Kashmir was an influential centre.

Marriage with her father's killer

When Rinchan, Army Chief of Kashmir and who later eliminated Kotarani's father, Ramchandra, occupied the throne of Kashmir, the condition in Kashmir, at that time, was highly horrible. There was total anarchy in the administration. The rebellious elements had started raising their head. People of Kashmir had become leaderless, no capable king was available. In this condition people of Kashmir could see only Rinchan for looking after Kashmir and Rinchan, too, did not waste time in taking advantage of the situation. He declared himself as the king of Kashmir.

At that time the roots of Buddhism were getting severed from the Indian nationalism. The supporters of Buddhism had got entangled in inviting foreign invaders to attack India to whom they provided assistance. Since Rinchan was a Buddhist there was need for Indianising his mind and activities. To achieve this, Kotarani agreed to marry Rinchan.

Marrying her father's murderer for the welfare of the

people of Kashmir, for the protection of the state of Kashmir and for the interest of the nation is a strange and rare example in history.

Through the guidance and assistance of Kotarani, Rinchan improved the administrative setup and reorganised the administrative machinery which had been derailed. By changing the outlook of army officers he promoted the feelings of discipline in the Army. He successfully curbed revolts. Kotarani played a pivotal role in giving directions to all these efforts and administrative activities of Rinchan.

Blunder of Pandits

Through her nature and wisdom Kotarani made Rinchan to accept Hindu religion. Under the influence of Kotarani's opinions, arguments and nationalistic outlook Rinchan decided to join the national mainstream. Kotarani urged him to carry out baptism into Hindu religion through established religious rites and directed him to go to some experienced Pandit. Rinchan went to some Pandit scholars.

But the then Kashmiri Pandits, even being great scholars, had lost understanding of the basic elements of religion because of prolonged unrest. As such lacking farsightedness they were incapable of interpreting religion as per the requirements of the era. They straightway refused to initiate Rinchan into Hinduism, when Buddhism is a branch of Hindu religion. Rinchan became angry and annoyed and while reacting to the treatment meted out to him by the Pandits he adopted Islam. All the patriotic efforts of Kotarani were washed away and the seeds of the cancer of religious conversion were sown. The already available humanitarian outlook and nationalism in Hindu religion were strangled. As a result of this blunder of the then Pandits the cancerous plants are currently emiting fire in Kashmir.

Rinchan held the reigns of the Government as a Muslim ruler under the name of Malik Sadruddin. But Kotarani, through her sweet behaviour, managed to restrain his activities to some extent. He succeeded in curbing internal revolts

because of Kotarani's clever behaviour and political wisdom but he remained ignorant about the conspiracies that were being hatched against him in foreign lands. When Dulchoo, an invader from central Asia, enacted the dance of destruction in Kashmir, King Sehdev had fled and his brother, Udyandev, too escaped to Gandhar. After Rinchan assumed power he, following his return to Kashmir, attempted to dislodge Rinchan from the seat of power.

Udyandev kept under control

Udyandev hatched a secret conspiracy with the help of a local influential Sardar Tikoo. He launched an attack on the palace of Rinchan with the help of his trusted men. Rinchan was injured and a rumour about his death was spread in the entire city. It led to disorder and violence. But peace returned as a result of timely efforts of Kotarani. When Rinchan became fit, he, on the implorings of Kotarani, got the rebels killed. However, the wounds, he had received during an attack on him, were so deep that he succumbed to these injuries in 1320 A.D. Just before his death Rinchan summoned his trusted minister, Shahmir, and entrusted his son and wife, Kotarani, to his care. This was the same Shahmir who had come to Kashmir as a religious preacher and who had been appointed as minister by King Sehdev. Rinchan was the first Muslim convert and Shahmir first Muslim religious preacher.

When Rinchan started punishing the rebels, who had attacked him in the palace, Udyandev had managed to escape. He became active again after the death of Rinchan. With the help of an external force he launched an attack on Kashmir. Kashmir was incapable to face this invasion. In the absence of Rinchan no powerful person emerged on the scene. The Army officers too were not united because there was no able commander to guide them. Udyandev started achieving success. Kotarani got worried over the possible fall of Kashmir but she did not give up courage. She was already a diplomat, she decided to take necessary steps for the protection of the people which was protection of Kashmir. She thought of only one way

of putting a nose-ring to Udyandev and that was to marry him, for which she sent a proposal to him.

Justice Kilam has written that Kashmir, once again witnessed disorder. Though Rinchan had established peace, he had not succeeded in curbing totally the anarchic elements. These very anarchic forces raised their head after the death of Rinchan. Kotarani had realised that she could not control the nation with her limited resources. And when Udyandev was marching towards Kashmir with a big Army, the Queen offered herself and her throne to him and discarded the rights of her son, Hyder. Udyandev occupied the throne and immediately married Kotarani.

Had not Kotarani taken this decision the foreign elements, which had come with Udyandev, would have destroyed Kashmir. As wife of Udyandev Kotarani succeeded in holding the reigns of the Government in her hands. Her son, Hyder, was yet small. After the death of Rinchan, Hyder had the right to occupy the throne of Kashmir. It was certain that after her marriage with Udyandev Hyder had to lose the throne. But, once again, Kotarani sacrificed the rights of her son on the altar of Kashmir's interest.

Udyandev was simply a twinkling lamp in front of the resplendent glory of Kotarani. With the help of her attraction, beauty and wisdom the queen held Udyandev in her political clutches.

Coward king flees

,But God kept on testing Kotarani's courage, capacity for work and organisation. ~~This time~~ Kashmir witnessed another powerful invasion. One Persian Tatar Sardar, Achla, invaded Kashmir. Udyandev again fled. One Muslim historian, Mohd. Din Fak, has, in his book "History of Kashmir", praised courage and administrative qualities of Kotarani and talked about cowardice of Udyandev.

He has written that Udyandev, this time, fled to Tibet following the footsteps of his family. But Kotarani awakened the people of Kashmir about patriotism through her fiery

appeal. Thousands of people assembled under the flag of Kotarani and defeated Tatars. Kashmir was free of turmoil and danger.

Kotarani convened a meeting of all Sardars, Army officials, politicians, social and religious leaders and told them that if in this hour of national crisis "we do not forget our differences and get united, we may have to face many difficulties". She implored people to remain vigilant about the future while reminding them of the destruction caused during the invasion of Dulchoo. People were deeply influenced by her call and they came under one banner in the hour of national crisis after rising above from the group sentiments. Kotarani kept the command of the battle in her hand and the enemy was shaken by the mettle of her sword. Kashmiri Army established its foundation because of her war strategy and Army command. After a battle of a few days the thrust of Achla's Army was stopped.

Expert in diplomacy

Achla's Army strength was greater than that of the Army in Kashmir. Even while fighting with chivalry Kotarani realised that it was not possible to defeat the foreign invaders because of their bigger number and arms strength. Banking on sound diplomacy she thought of changing the battlefront. In the battlefield fronts have to be changed many a times. One has to adopt a strategy according to the facing enemy. Conspirators should be replied in the language of conspiracy which is considered the best war tactics; annihilate viciousness through wickedness. Kotarani had thrown to winds that policy of liberalism and broadmindedness which was the cause of defeat of the Hindus till now. What sort of broadmindedness towards the sinner ?

Kotarani sent her trusted messenger to Achla with an offer for truce and informed him that "our troops" were fatigued. She wanted war to be stopped. The ruler of Kashmir had fled out of scare and the throne was vacant. Achla was told that he could occupy the throne only on one condition that he would withdraw his Army and the fairies of Kashmir would

welcome him. And Kotarani would present herself in his service.

An expert intriguer in the battlefield and wicked in political behaviour Sardar Achla was ensnared by the sweet words of Kotarani. He sent back all his forces. He started waiting impatiently, alongwith some colleagues, for Kotarani and for the Kashmiri fairies. He was imagining of being surrounded by fairies. Achla was engrossed in the imaginary enjoyment of beauty. There and then Kotarani reached there like a roaring lion and with one stroke of her sword beheaded Achla. The same fate awaited his colleagues. Kotarani emerged victorious. She emerged like Durga in front of the Kashmiris. Senior officers of the administration and the Army and the ministers unanimously declared Kotarani as the Queen of Kashmir.

Liberal minded woman

Here one more important aspect of the character of Kotarani is highlighted. Besides being a cruel battle commander and strong administrator she was also a liberal minded woman. In her person, Indian Woman's devotion and respect for her husband were present. Her husband, Udyandev, had fled leaving her alone during the war. When he came to know that Achla had been killed and his Army had been defeated and Kotarani had become the Queen of Kashmir, he returned to Kashmir. Kotarani welcomed him and kept him in the palace with honour. She preserved in her the character of an ideal woman.

Free from worries she started running the state administration. In order to provide justice to the people she made changes in the courts in the state. Those soldiers who had shown their courage and ability in the battle were honoured. And those who had played fraud during the war were sacked and punished. She also reorganised her council of ministers. Kotarani was a born administrator. She also started several social reforms.

Her successful prison escape

Possibly she was not destined to lead a happy life. Internal revolt in the state took birth again. Influential groups started emerging on the scene. Internally the embers of revolt started simmering. She curbed these revolts with her full strength. But she could not completely finish these revolts. Many ministers and Army officers in Kashmir did not like to be governed by a female personality. They tried to dislodge the Queen from the seeat of power but everytime they had to face defeat.

Once a senior Army officer, with a company of troops, attacked the palace of the Queen. On hearing this news, the Queen, with her security guards, came out to fight the rebel soldiers. But the Army officer succeeded in arresting the Queen. She was imprisoned in a fortress. The Queen had never learnt to be panicky and give up courage. Even while being in the prison she established links with the outside world through her cleverness. She succeeded in escaping from the prison by scaling the wall during the night with the help of her trusted minister, Kumar Bhat. On reaching the capital, she started a terrible military campaign and got killed the rebel officers and their colleagues.

All these events were being watched peacefully but with some aim by Shahmir. The purpose for which this Muslim religious preacher had come to Kashmir could not be achieved during the reign of Kotarani. He demonstrated his sound strategy for carving out his way through all these events and dwindling political situation. He earned confidence of Kotarani. He had fully supported Kotarani during her battles with Dulchoo and Achla. He established an honourable place among people and in order to promote family relations with many influential people he organised marriages of the children of his family.

Shahmir started flaring-up Udyandev against the Queen. The Queen's son Hyder, from her first husband, Rinchan, was marching towards maturety. Shahmir told Udyandev that the Queen was making arrangements for installing her son, Hyder,

on the throne. This way Hyder will become the King and the son of Udyandev would be thrown out of the state. The Queen played a trick through which Udyandev was happy and the Shahmir's dice, which he had thrown, proved a failure. The Queen publicly disowned Rinchan and her son, Hyder, and deprived them of their rights. The Queen had doubts: she thought that since Shahmir had nourished Hyder he (Hyder) will support Shahmir.

Shahmir too stooped

In the middle of these tricks Udyandev passed away in 1338 A.D. on the day of Shivratri. In order to prevent rebels from joining hands with Shahmir for usurping the throne of Kashmir, Kotarani kept the news of the death of Udyandev secret for five days. In these five days she took all measures for ensuring security of the state. She deployed her trusted officers on those places which were important from the security point of view. Vigilance was intensified on the border. She appointed one of her close assoicates, Bhikshan Bhat, as Prime Minister.

Within these five days she appointed Lavanya, an influential social leader, as a minister. Both these men were considered the arms of Shahmir. By attracting both of them she almost disabled Shahmir. After the fifth day when the fortification of the state was complete, Kotarani, with the help of her new Prime Minister, Bhikshan Bhat, organised her coronation. Then the news of the death of Udyandev leaked out of the palace. Shahmir kept on repenting.

But Shahmir was not silent. He was an expert in hatching conspiracies secretly. He decided to eliminate Prime Minister, Bhikshan Bhat, by any means because he was the nerve centre of the powers and the rapport with the administrative channels for the Queen. Shahmir had realised that it was not possible to tame this courageous woman neither through revolt nor through love or strength. She had to be eliminated through a simple deceit. The seeds of her fall can be sown by taking advantage of the woman in her and of her liberalism.

Murder of Bhikshan Bhat

Shahmir feigned illness and lay in the bed. Through an employee he sent a message to Kotarani that Shahmir was critically ill and would die. After all Kotarani was a woman and she became upset on hearing about the illness of her one time trusted associate. At once the Queen sent her Prime Minister, Bhikshan Bhat, to enquire about the welfare of Shahmir. Bhikshan Bhat, alongwith his colleagues and security men, reached the house of Shahmir to enquire about his health. The colleagues and the scurity men of Bhikshan Bhat were stopped outside the house. The men of Shahmir engaged them in conversation as per the plan. They were told that in view of the health of Shahmir only Bhikshan Bhat could go inside. He went inside and after making enquiries about his health, Shahmir requested him to occupy the seat in front of him. The moment Bhikshan Bhat took the seat, Shahmir immediately wounded him fatally. Bhikshan died on the spot. Kotarani was shocked and enraged on hearing this news but her minister, Lavanya, prevented her from taking revenge at that very moment.

Shahmir's victory

After some time Kamraj area of Kashmir witnessed severe famine. Kotrani's motherly mind cried on seeing people famish. She immediately sent relief and for supervising the relief measures she herself went on tour of the centire area.

When Shahmir came to know that the Queen is away from the capital of Srinagar, he reached Srinagar alongwith his armed forces. After occupying the city with the help of an Army officer Shahmir declared himself the king of the state. Minister, Lavanya, took his trusted men with him and launched an attack on Shahmir. Shahmir was about to be defeated when, on his appeal, many sardars with their companies of troops reached Srinagar to assist him. Lavanya was surrounded and he had to surrender before the armed strength of Shahmir who took full control of Srinagar.

At that time Kotarani was busy in looking after the relief operations in Kamraj region which had been affected by famine.

When the news of occupation of Srinagar by Shahmir reached the Queen, she started collecting her troops at Jaipur (now Andukot), near Kamraj. But already much time had been wasted. By occupying Srinagar Shahmir had become stronger. In order to arrest the Queen, Shahmir set out for the Jaipur fort where Kotarani was formulating the battle strategy.

The Queen was entrapped inside the fort alongwith her soldiers. Shahmir's troops cordoned off the entire fort. The Queen finalised a plan for escaping from the fort after she saw herself having been entrapped but her plan did not fructify because of the alert soldiers of Shahmir. The Queen realised that the end was near, still she did not give up her courage. She decided to play diplomacy and prepared an outline of a scheme for eliminating Shahmir.

Kotarani decided to play the last trick of diplomacy of her life. She sent a message to Shahmir offering her the throne and her hand for marriage.

When Shahmir learnt that he was getting both the throne and Kotarani as his wife he gladly accepted the offer. And he invited the Queen to his palace.

Queen's self-sacrifice

On receiving Shahmir's invitation, Kotarani was ready to go to him. She dressed and decorated herself fully. She looked like a bride in her lovely attire. Decked in beautiful gold ornaments Kotarani hid a sharp dagger under her garments before moving to the palace. She reached the palace of Shahmir. Shahmir invited her to his bedroom. The moment, the Queen entered into the bedroom she became alert. The Queen had gone inside the bedroom to kill Shahmir with her dagger but the thrust of her dagger proved in vain. The moment Shahmir stepped forward to embrace her, Kotarani ended her life with the same dagger. She did not allow Shahmir to come close to her body.

This marked an end to one of the romantic and courageous characters in the history of Kashmir. There can be no two opinions about the character and qualities of this woman.

Nobody can dispute that Kotarani was a born diplomat. It was because of her clever strategy that Achla was killed and his invasion was stopped. In the light of mean mentality of the landlords and indiscipline among the soldiers during her time, Kotarani's wisdom, strength of character and administrative capabilities are golden pages of the history of Kashmir. After the sacrifice of Kotarani, Shahmir was the first Muslim Sultan to occupy the throne of Kashmir.

Dr. Raghunath Singh, in his commentary on Rajtarangani, has given a vivid description of the state of mind of people of Kashmir at the time of the unique self-sacrifice of Kotarani. At that stage people remained calm and idle. According to Dr. Raghunath Singh, people remained impartial. They were uprooted, they were destroyed. The ancient Kashmir was destroyed. If it was a sad event for the Hindus, it was a day of happiness for Shahmir and the Muslim world. It was an auspicious time for the Muslims. It was an occasion of festivity and delight. It was a new birth for Kashmir from Darul Harb (area of peace) to Darul Islam. It was an end of "kufr" (infidelity) and the rise of "Imaan" (faith).

With this started the bloody saga of fanaticism, the pain of religious conversion whose shrieks have been penned down even by Muslim historians.

PART-2

BIGOTRY AT PEAK

9

Advent of Islam in Kashmir

The start of Syeds' antinational and separatist activities behind the mask of religious tolerance and liberalism.

Towards the beginning of the 7th Century the Islamic sect, which was born in the vast womb of the Arabian desert, was able to bring many countries in the fold of the "Islamic Millat" (Muslim brotherhood) within first 100 years of its birth. Besides Syria, Palestine, Egypt, north Africa, Iraq the followers of Islam marched fast towards Spain, Portugal, South France and other European countries.

Defeat of Arab Chieftain

After conquering Turkey and Kabul the Arabs fixed their gaze on Kashmir in the middle of the 8th century. During the middle of this era the Arab Chieftains attempted, many times, to trample Kashmir but they licked dust because of the powerful Kashmiri emperors and chivalrous soldiers. Everytime they returned without any success. In 713 Emperor of Kashmir, Chandrapeed, defeated Mohd. Bin Qasim. Second time Emperor Lalitaditya defeated the Arab Chietain, Hisham, in 724 and finally in 754 one Arab Chieftain, Kalif Mansoor, set his foot on Kashmir but had to return aftering tasting defeat. The same way Mohd. Gaznavi witnessed defeat twice at the hands of Kashmiris and fled to Gazni and never came to Kashmir, thereafter.

The glorious pages of history confirm the veracity and depth of the declaration of Kalhana who had said that Kashmir "cannot be won by military power." History bears testimony to

the fact that the advent of Islam in Kashmir is a well planned bloody saga of bigotry and religious conversion in the guise of humanitarianism, world brotherhood of Muslims sufis and sayeds. The same Kashmiri who lived an independent life and never surrendered before terrible invaders were the people who were trapped in the religious clutches of Muslim sufi saints and sayeds.

First contact with Islam

When the Arabs conquered Sindh, the son of Sindh ruler, Prince Jaisingh, took shelter in Kashmir. The King of Kashmir presented him an estate with honour. A Syrian friend named Hamid, was also with Jaisingh. This Muslim youth, Hamid, was the first Muslim to have entered into Kashmir. After the death of Jaisingh Hamid became the owner of his estate. This Muslim Landlord started propagating his religion, with the help of his status and influence, among his friends, relations and acquaintances. The successor of Lalitaditya, Vajraditya, adopted a highly liberal policy in allowing entry to Hamid and his associates in the state administrative setup. From here started people's contact with Islam and gradually Hamid started getting engaged in increasing the number of the followers of his religion in a systematic way.

From here started the contact between the Kashmiri Hindus and the followers of Islam in every field of the society. First of all a ruler of Kashmir, Kalash, inaugurated the campaign for this interaction and contact by having a love affair with ,a Muslim dancer. Later on King Harsha appointed Muslims on the key posts in the Army and the administration. Harash himself had been impressed by the principles of Islam and thus Kalhana has dubbed him a "Turk". During the time of Harsha, that is towards the end of the 13th century, a small but powerful Muslim colony had been established in Kashmir. That way the work of religious conversion had started at a slow pace.

When the news about the propagation of Islam with the help of the facilities provided by the Government reached the

Arab countries, many Muslim sufi saints made it their life's goal to propagate Islam in Kashmir.

First incident of conversion

The first sufi saint who reached Kashmir, during the time of King Sehdev, was Sayed Sharafuddin Bulbul Shah from Turkey. He was a very clever person. That very time a rebel prince from Tibet, Rinchan, and a Persian Muslim religious preacher, Shahmir, arrived in Kashmir. Reference to these two persons has been made in the earlier chapter titled "Kotarani". Right from the beginning Shahmir tried to give religious colour to every of his political and social activities. Though Kashmiri Pandits had committed a blunder in not having allowed Rinchan to adopt Hinduism, Shahmir and Bulbul Shah had played a vital role in initiating Rinchan to Islam and in revolting against Hindu religion. King Sehdev appointed both, Rinchan and Shahmir on important posts in the state as a result of his liberalism and this helped them to establish contact with each other. As per the plan of Bulbul Shah, Shahmir took full advantage of the hatred that Rinchan had developed in his mind against the Pandits. He, while opposing Hindu religion and enumerating the qualities in Islam, tried to cultivate in the mind of Rinchan that there was other religion, besides Hindu religion, which could be adopted and accepted.

Cleverly Shahmir told Rinchan, one night, that they would move out for a morning walk the other day. And the person who would meet them first would be fortunate and truthful. After enquiring his religion it would be better to adopt that religion. When Shahmir and Rinchan went out for a morning walk, the first man to meet them, as was preplanned, was Bulbul Shah. In this way Rinchan became a Muslim as a result of the conspiracy of Bulbul Shah and Shahmir.

Power greedy Rinchan

No doubt, the post-conversion incident lifts the veil from the political aim of Bulbul Shah and Shahmir for converting Kashmir into a Muslim state, it also highlights the instability

of the mind of Rinchan and his greed for power. He had fled from Tibet after his revolt for assuming power had failed. Taking advantage of King Sehdev's liberalism he succeeded in occupying important post in the administration. When Sehdev fled at the time of Dulchoo's invasion, Rinchan took the advantage of anarchy in the state and got Prime Minister, Ramchandra, killed through deceit and became the king. In order to calm down the anger in the people, he married Ramchandra's daughter, Kotarani, and realising the political influence of Kotarani he tried to adopt Hinduism. In the end this very greed for power attracted him to Islam. Thus this conversion was not the result of attraction towards the principles of any religion but the product of politically motivated conversion for gaining power. It was sheer politics behind the religious converter and the converted. The idea behind it was to prepare a foundation for a class of Muslim administrators

Justice Kilam has written in his book "The History of Kashmiri Pandit" that with the religious conversion of Rinchan and with adoption of a Muslim name Malik Sadruddin, his son, Ravanchander, and many others adopted Islam. This way there emerged a Muslim ruling class. This class also needed support and they adopted many ways for propagating Islam. As a result of its simple rules and with the support from the royalty, Islam attracted people belonging to the lower class.

Conversion through Government support

After the self-sacrifice of Kotarani Shahmir succeeded in establishing his authority on Kashmir in 1343. On assuming power he initiated efforts for propagating Islam and even started the plan for conversion of people on the state level. He achieved success in his political mission by reforming agriculture and by providing many facilities to the people. Through many intrigues Shahmir humbled down one Lavanya named Rajput and people belonging to a foreign dynasty "Chhak" were appointed on different posts in the state. Such works helped Shahmir in strengthening his control on the administration which laid a strong foundation for the foreign Muslim preachers.

In a way Islam received Government patronage in Kashmir. Shahmir was a clever politician and for his convenience he thought it proper to seek support from the Kashmiri Hindus and installed Pandits on key posts. Sanskrit was still the official language in Kashmir. This way he received full support from the local educated class by giving them honourable posts. The result was that these very Pandits welcomed Muslim scholars, religious preachers, sayeds who had come from foreign lands. These very sayeds gradually sidelined the Pandits in the administration and occupied top posts.

According to Dr. Raghunath Singh, the rule of Shahmir paved the way for gradual entry of foreigners into Kashmir. People from Khurasaan, Turkey and other frontier regions started coming to Kashmir. They received amenities because of the Muslim rule in Kashmir. The population of Muslims in Kashmir was small and since the Muslims had usurped the state from the Hindus, the Sultans wanted to have Muslim supporters for strengthening their position. Thus the flow of Muslims into Kashmir remained uniterrupted. Later they became a problem for Kashmir.They were not in the know of the living style of Kashmiris and their nature. Their advent resulted in violence and cruelty which were earlier unknown in Kashmir. A small account of some cruel events is recorded in the entire history of Shahmir dynasty. There is no comparison between the cruelties of that era and the one that followed it.

Hordes of foreign Sayeds

During the time of Shahmir the groups of Sayeds who came to Kashmir mainly belonged to Turkey and Persia where living had been made difficult because of invasions of Taimur. Finding Kashmir a safe place they marched here. In Kashmir they received protection and Government facilities for carrying out religious preachings. It also freed them from the terror of Taimur.

A Muslim historian, Mohd. Din Fak, has written in his book "History of Kashmir," that when Sayed Tajuddin came to Kashmir, he had with him two of his disciples, Sayed Masood

and Sayed Yusuf. The younger brother of Sayed Tajuddin, Syed Hussain came to Simnani too. It is said that these two brothers had been sent by Syed Mir Ali with the instructions to find out whether Kashmir was capable to protect them against the attacks of Taimur, because it was believed that Taimur was ready to kill all Syeds.

These Syeds found themselves safe in Kashmir and indulged in open propagation of Islam. But they had one fear: the valley of Kashmir was a Hindu dominated area and these Hindus were strict followers of their sect and religion. They considered it essential and need of the hour to increase the Muslim population because they had fears that since Hindus were in majority in Kashmir and their religious zeal may prove heavy on Islam. They feared that the newly established Muslim political leadership may be finished. Therefore, they banked on religion for changing the religious bent of mind. They believed that Islamic doctrines could be the means for achieving political goal.

The spiritual message of these Syeds, their so called liberalism and the behaviour of tolerance got linked with the nature of Kashmir. The credit for success in starting the act of religious conversion by syeds goes to two prominent Muslim leaders, Syed Ali Hamdaani and Syed Mohd. Hamdaani. Syed Ali Hamdaani, who is popularly known as Shah Hamdaani for propagating Islam, had come to Kashmir for the first time in 1372 alongwith 700 Syed followers. He established the influence of his organisation in the entire state with adroitness and with the help of his educated disciples. He toured the entire state many times. He raised his disciples upto the village level. He made those areas as his work field where there was greater influence of Hindu religion, where there were many temples, where there were religious libraries and where the Pandit community was determined, so that first of all these very centres of spiritualism of Hindus were finished.

Destruction of basic society

With Government resources and facilities these Syeds

opened many centres in Kashmir where, as per the plan, poor Kashmiri Pandits were given food, clothes, medicines etc., free of cost. The imperialistic designs behind such attractions have been vividly described by a Muslim historian, M.D. Sufi, in his book "Kashmir". He has written that Syeds became popular among the Muslim kings who were influenced by them. They established many preaching centres where people were given food free of cost and afterwards these very people were accepted in Islam.

As a result of long but powerful campaign of conversion, a type of "Muslim-Brahmin class" took birth in Kashmir. This class received full patronage from the Syeds. They were appointed on posts in the administration. It was natural that this so called Muslim-Brahmin class came into confrontation and confict with the Hindu Brahmins. The history gives an account of some of the fights and small battles between the two sides. Since these Muslim Pandits had the support of the Syeds and the Government, it resulted in the destruction of the basic society. There was no security arrangements for the protection of life and property of Pandits. Hidden behind this struggle was the political trick of the Syeds who succeeded in removing original residents from the Government posts.

They opened schools and centres at Awantipura and Mattan for propagating Islamic teachings and education. Though Islamisation had started prior to the coming of the Syeds, Syed Ali Hamdaani, with his powerful groups of disciples, increased the rate of conversion manifold times. They started attacking several traditions of Hindu religion besides propagating teachings and messages of Islam. And these campaigns were used to be carried out in the attractive guise of brotherhood, love and tolerance. For religious conversion in Kashmir this was the apt principle they adopted. Sir Stein in his commentary on Rajtarangani has written that Islam carved out its way in Kashmir through gradual religious conversion and not achieved victory through force. And for laying the foundation for it the religious preachers from south and central Asia have played a significant role.

Syed Ali Hamdaani was awarded a degree of "Baani-e-Kalaam" in Kashmir. He established a centre in Srinagar which was called Allah-Udinpur and since then it named as Khankai Moula. As a result of his relentless efforts a big number of Kashmiris adopted Islam, but these fresh Muslim converts did not give up their dress, language, local traditions and even their religious customs. Syed Ali Hamdaani confined his activities towards inclusion of some rules of the Shariat in the state laws through the help of the Sultan in order to ensure full conversion of the people. He felt that despite their religious conversion, if the people remained tied to the land, it could lead to the end of Islam any time.

Plan for total Islamisation

Syed Ali Hamdani introduced in Kashmir, with the help of the then Sultan, dress of Muslim countries, throne on the Islamic model, Islamic customs in state administration and Islamic flag on Government buildings. On the directions of the Syed the Sultan started wearing an Arabic cap and divorced one of his two wives and remarried the other according to Islamic custom. Thus Sultan Qutabuddin fulfilled all the desires of the Syed. But still all the plans of the Syed had not fully materialised. The Syed established contact with Hindu saints of Kashmir. His meetings started with an influential Hindu Recluse, Lalleshwari. Both of them started visualising many uniformities in their religious doctrines. Both of them opposed idol worship. In league with the Syed, Lalleshwari started propagating her sect and the sufi sect. What else the Syeds wanted ? Through Lalleshwari the Syed started using some sayings from Hindu religion cleverly in his discourses in order to establish his credibility among the disciples of Lalleshwari. He even fully praised yoga and vision.

As a result of the political intrigue of Syed Ali Hamdaani some Hindu recluse and 37,000 Hindus adopted Islam. Historian Bamzai has written that outwardly the Syed would praise eloquently the Hindu religion but inwardly he used to hate the saints of this religion. After achieving great success in his

mission he, while giving up his guise of love and coexistence, asked the Sultan to carry out forcible conversion of Hindus. But the Sultan refused to accept this direction of the Syed. Possibly the Sultan had it in his mind that Kashmir continued to be a Hindu majority state and any forcible conversion could result in a revolt. Thus it was thought necessary to remain in power for the propagation of Islam.

Syed Ali was annoyed with Sultan Qutabuddin and returned to his country, Hamdaan. But he had already established a strong base, through his diplomacy, for the propagation of Islam and had simplified all the ways for carrying out forcible conversion in the future.

10

Either Islam or Death or Banishment

The false face of liberalism of Syeds was unveiled and Sultan Sikander, taking support of cruel designs and atrocities, initiated a strong storm of destruction of Hindus for the purpose of forcible conversion.

As a result of the efforts of Syed Ali Hamdani a new generation of converted Muslims was born. The people of this generation supported not only the foreign religious preachers on the religious plank but also contributed fully in their activities connected with forcible conversion. These people left no stone unturned in demolishing monasteries and temples built by their ancestors. The eagerness with which these converted people demonstrated their faith in foreign religious practices by destroying the established ancient practices is a highly dark chapter of the history of Kashmir.

After Syed Ali Hamdani his son, Syed Mohd. Hamdani, came to Kashmir in 1393 A.D., with 300 religious preachers for completing the unfinished task of his father. This time Kashmir was under the rule of Sikander the iconoclast who was insane in the intoxication of cruelty and bigotry. He gave a state reception to Mohd. Hamdani on his arrival in Kashmir. He registered three estates of Vanshi, Tral and Nunavani in his name where he could, alongwith his disciples, stay for carrying out his Islam-related activities with independence, peace and all amenities. All Government facilities were kept at his disposal.

Close to his father's tomb 'Shah Hamdaan shrine" the state government had built a spacious religious centre for Mohd. Hamdani. Sikander, the iconoclast, considered him as his teacher and as good as a father to make him Government guide. Joanraj has written in Rajtarangani that the king would remain in wait with folded hands for the Syed like an ideal servant. He would receive education from him like an ideal student and like an ideal slave carry out his deep study.

Suha Bhat—the traitor

After receiving full support from Sikander, Mohd. Hamdani started forcible conversion of Hindus in Kashmir. The dream that his father could not fructify was completed by Mohd. Hamdani with the help of Sikander. The Prime Minister of Sikander, Suha Bhat, played a prominent role in this bloody campaign. Suha Bhat was a Hindu but he had adopted Islam under the request of Mohd. Hamdani and under the threat of elimination from Sikander. His name as a converted Muslim Prime Minister became Saifuddin. He assumed the leadership of the converted Muslims and in shoulder to shoulder with Sikander he got engaged fully in making Kashmir a Hinduless state. This converted wolf, out of greed for power, played a special role in demolishing all the signs and symbols of Indianness in Kashmir.

This anti-national Saifuddin demonstrated his excitement by brandishing the Islamic sword on the necks of Hindus. Those Hindus who refused conversion were tortured. The Hindu scriptures were thrown in the Dal lake. Seven maunds of sacred thread worn by those Hindus, who were killed under his instructions, were burnt. To perpetuate this terror Sikander got formed an organisation called "Sheikh-ud-Islam" with the help of Saifuddin (Suha Bhat).

A Muslim historian, Hassan, has, in his book "History of Kashmir", given an account of this barbarism of Sikander. He has written that Sikander crushed Hindus the most. An announcement was made in the city that the Hindu who would not adopt Islam was either to be killed or to be banished. As a

result of it many Hindus fled from Kashmir, many accepted Islam. Many Brahmins preferred death and died. It is said that Sikander collected six maunds of sacred thread from the converted Hindus and got it burnt. Hazrat Amir Kabir has witnessed the scene himself and he suggested to Sikander that he should impose taxes on the Hindus instead of torturing them to death. All the Hindu scriptures were collected and thrown in the Dal lake and very buried under clay and stones.

Total destruction of Hindu Temples

The demonic gaze of cruel and in human Sultan Sikander fell on sacred spiritual centres of Hindus. Syed Mohd. Hamdani had made Sikander to understand that so long the idols in the temples of idol worshipping infidels were not destroyed, there would be no purpose of conversion. These very places of their deities were source of their inspiration. These very centres may inspire them, in future, to give up Islam. Thus destruction of these places was necessary for delinking fresh converts from their national roots and mainstream. If such places of deities were allowed to survive, inspiration for Indianness will survive. The Sultan accepted as dignified the political idea of Syed Mohd. Hamdani, and became ready to destroy the greatest work of human history and in doing so there was not an iota of civilisation, humanity and wisdom.

Historian Hassan has written that there were many temples during the time of Hindu kings which were just like wonders of the world. Their design and art were so fine and delicate that a viewer would get spellbound. Filled with jealousy and hatred Sikander destroyed these temples. From the material of the temples mosques and shrines were built. First of all he focussed his attention towards Martand temple built by Ramdev.

It took one year to fully damage and destroy this Martand temple. After having failed to demolish the temple totally this enemy of art, culture and godly beauty, stuffed the temple with wooden slippers and set it ablaze. Seeing the matchless beauty of the fold studded domes of the temple getting destroyed

Sikander kept on laughing and went on giving instructions for the complete destruction of the temple by treating it as God's order. Stones from the temple's foundation were not spared. It was total plunder and destruction of the temple and the people living around the temple were directed to adopt Islam. Those who did not accept this direction were butchered alongwith their family members. This way people from one village to another were converted into Islam. Even today one gets surprised over art and skill of the builders of this world famous Martand temple by looking at its ruins.

Similarly under the instructions of Sikander one famous temple at Bijbehara, Vijeshwar temple, and 300 other temples around it were destroyed and demolished. Historian Hassan has written that a mosque was built with the idols and stones of Vijeshwar temple and in this area a quarry was built which is called Vijeshwar quarry.

In these state level atrocities and forcible mass conversions Muslim preachers, especially Syeds, had played a pivotal role. The plot for this blood curdling story was prepared by those who were converted to Islam, failing which it would not have been possible for a handful of foreigners and those outsiders who had different religion, to establish their foothold in Kashmir. The result of cowardice and shortsightedness of the Hindus had set ablaze Kashmir usually called a forest of bliss and beatitude. The iconoclast king was of the opinion that if there was any danger to Kashmir in future it could be from these very Hindus. Thus to give a full Islamic shape to Kashmir it was both a "state duty" and "God's order" to destroy Hindus and all their signs and symbols.

Hindus are to leave Kashmir

Bigotry had gripped the king to such an extent that he enforced his direction, "Either adopt Islam, or accept death or banishment", throughout Kashmir. People were given option to choose one among the three alternatives. It meant for Hindus banishment if they refused to adopt Islam. But it was not easy to leave Kashmir and survive. People were killed while fleeing.

The Shariat laws and principles were made the constitution of Kashmir. The second writer of Rajtarangani, Joanraj, has written "not a single village or town was spared where places of worship and temples were not damaged and destroyed. Many Hindus lost their courage and accepted conversion. Many migrated from Kashmir and many committed suicide."

There was no end to the horrible story. One British historian has written in his book "Beyond the Pir Panjal" that two Hindus were put together in a sack and drowned in the lake. They had only three alternatives left, either to adopt Islam, or struggle or accept getting killed. There was anger and annoyance in the Hindus against the Sultan's cruel activities. But all those Hindus who launched a struggle against it were trampled to death.

Salutation to those brave Hindus who achieved martyrdom while fighting in the battlefield instead of either committing suicide by taking poison, or tolerated injustice, or adopted Islam or fled like cowards.

As a result of such good deeds of a few Hindus, that Sikander had to yield and some selected Hindu families were allowed to live in Kashmir. But they had to live on the mercy of Muslim bosses and the soldiers of the Sultan. The Sultan imposed taxes on these Hindus which was a penalty for remaining Hindus. These Hindus could neither use vermillion nor wear the sacred thread nor the Sarees and other dress.

Religious tax

Muslim sultans allowed Hindus the right to live on the condition that they would keep on paying taxes. These taxes had to be paid during the Hindu festivals and functions. It had different forms. The Hindus were forced to pay the taxes during Shivratri, Diwali, Ram Navmi, Navratra and Yagnopavit (sacred thread wearing ceremony). In addition to this, taxes were imposed on every pilgrimage. Joanraj in his Rajtarangani has called it "Chandh-Dandh" tax which means that the Hindus were forced to pay tax or the taxes were recovered from them either through beating or through dishonour. "Chandh-Dandh"

means in Sanskrit violent, cruel, horrible.

In addition to this, the Muslim Sardars would attack the houses of Hindus and later share the loot among themselves. This loot included even the women from the looted houses. In Arabic language this loot is called "Maal-e-Ganimat". Joanraj has called it "Lotr Dandh" meaning punishment of loot.

This tax was so painful and horrible that common Hindu would not be able to pay it. And those who could not pay the tax had only the alternative of either facing rigorous imprisonment, or death or acceptance of Islam.

Bonfire of Sanskrit books

Shrivar has in his Rajtarangani, written

सेकन्धरधरानाथो यवनैः प्रेरितः पुरां।
पुस्तकान् सकलान् सर्वास्तृणान्यग्निरिवादहत्।। (5.75)

that under the inspiration of Syeds, Sikander set on fire all the books on Sanskrit literature like grass.

किमन्यद् द्विजवद् देशे सर्वे ग्रन्थ मनोरमाः।
कथावशेषतां याताः पद्मानीव हिमागमे।।

According to Shrivar, it is not a simple affair to enumerate the importance and greatness of this sacred land of Kashmir which has been storehouse of education and knowledge. All the Sanskrit books in Kashmir were attractive and after the fire of destruction only the story about it can be repeated. All these books, scriptures and the wealth of knowledge faced destruction in the same way lotus flowers wither under frost of the winter.

When Sikander, under the influence of Syeds, started setting ablaze Sanskrit books, big libraries, which were the storehouses of knowledge, in order to convert Kashmir in Darul Islam, many libraries smouldered for six months. These scriptures of knowledge were used as fuel in the kitchens and bathroom boilers of the Syeds. This dance of destruction caused great worry among the Hindus. They took it as the end of Indian culture. This way, they believed the entire cultural heritage would be totally finished. It needed to be preserved. Thus, some Hindus secretly carried them to the remote forests and moun-

tain routes in the Himalayas. Many managed to carry them to safe places in different ancient regions in India.

तस्मिन काले बुधाः सर्वे, मोसुलोपद्रवाचवात्
गृहीत्वा पुस्तकान सर्वान, ययुर्दरं दिगन्तरम।।

According to Shrivar, the learned people of that period, on seeing the dance of destruction of knowledge, enacted by the muslims, fled with some books over tortuous mountain routes. This way these Kashmiri Pandits protected the Indian culture by hiding themselves in the jungles for many years. Still innumerable valuable books and scriptures were used as fuel in the hearths of the Sultans.

Humanity cried under demonic deeds of Syeds.

During the reign of Sikander thousands of Syeds from West Asia and Central Asia reached Kashmir who started the bloody campaign for conversion. The bloodshed ordered by the Syeds on the soil of Kashmir under the pretext of religious preaching will be treated as the most mean and tainted chapter in the history of humanity.

Shrivar has written that the saga of atrocities committed by the Syeds is horrible as they had crossed all the limits of humanity and cruelty. A vedic scholar, Bhuvneshwar, was killed and his forehead, smeared with sandalwood, was severed and placed on the national highway. In order to create terror among the people, Syeds placed severed heads on charcoal and wood on the banks of the river Jehlum.

The bodies used to be thrown in the river. These swollen bodies would float and emit foul smell and flow down to the Wullar lake. Nobody would think of performing their last rites. Women coming to the two banks of the Jehlum used to be struck with arrows; it was a routine affair. Two to three people were daily executed on the banks of the Jehlum. The bodies of the brave people were thrown on the road like unclaimed bodies. According to Shrivar the naked bodies of those, who used to lead to comfortable life on cotton mattresses beside the cushions,

were thrown on the roads and crows, cocks, and vultures feeding on the belly, flesh and fat of these insect infested bodies, emanting stench, were seen.

Between Malikpur and Losht Vihar bodies were kept like logs. Shrivar writes that in many other areas nude dead bodies had been kept like logs. Officers were killed without trial and justice. More cruelty was committed with their bodies. They were subjected to highly inhuman treatment, they were tortured, their bodies were mutilated to become food for the dogs. After defeat they would be beheaded and their heads would be fixed on the flags.

Taking support of the Government power the Syeds kept it in their mind the aim of continuing the campaign for conversion in order to ensure forcible end of the basic religion and culture of Kashmir besides building mosques and schools for the propagation of principles of Islam. The famous mosques of Vilvihar and Jama Masjid in Srinagar were built during this period.

Saifuddin crossed all limits of cruelty

After Sikander the iconoclast, his son, Alishah, came to Kashmir and occupied the throne. He followed his father's footsteps and within a period of six years he established a new record in tormenting, in killing Hindus and in converting them to Islam. He too was excited by the killing of Hindus and for this work he too appointed Saifuddin as his Prime Minister. This prime minister, who was a convert, displayed again his meanness.

Joanraj has given an account of the atrocities committed by Alishah on the Hindus. He has written that Suha Bhat (Saifuddin) broke all the previous record in imposing heavy taxes on Hindus. This wicked person imposed ban on functions and processions connected with "Dhooj ka chaand" festival. He was jealous about the Brahmins sensing that they would preserve their community in foreign countries, he set up check-posts on the roads and the soldiers would not allow anyone without a permit to go out of the state. The man from this mean

community tortured people in the state just as a fisherman tortures the fish. Out of the scare of conversion Brahmins jumped into the fire. Many Brahmins hanged themselves to death, some consumed poison and others drowned themselves. Innumerable Brahmins jumped to death from the mountains, The state was filled with hatred. The supporters of the king did not stop even a single person from committing suicide. A big number of self-respecting Brahmins fled to foreign countries by walking on the footpaths after the main roads had been blocked. These Brahmins left for the foreign lands as the one who bids farewell to this earth; father leaving his son behind and the vice versa. Tough journey, food shortage and painful diseases and hellish life had made them to be free of the terror of hell. A large number of people died on the way because of enemy attacks, different difficulties, snake bites, heat wave. How could one expect meditation, prayer and determination from them ?

(Rajtarangani : Joanraj)

Courageous and brave Pandit Ratnakar

The Kashmiri Hindu society alone had to become a victim of the destruction ordered by the Muslim Sultans. It was so because they alone were a hurdle in the establishment of Islamic rule in Kashmir. Many plans were formulated for Islamisation of Kashmir. From allurements to massacre, all means were adopted with the help of the administration for achieving this aim.

Amid this deep darkness and hopelessness there is a reference full of great self-respect. One Kashmiri Pandit, Ratnakar, tried to cultivate the feeling of courage by organising Pandits. With his sound strategy he secured support from new Muslim Pandits for his work. One converted Muslim Moulana Din supported fully Ratnakar and these two, working secretly, increased their activities. But Kashmir had still to face bad days. Both Ratnakar and Moulana Din were arrested and killed because of the treachery of a new Muslim convert.

Sultan Ali Shah, through Government instructions, ordered a search of Pandits and all of them were forced to adopt

Islam. It is believed that under the stormy religious conversion, carried out by Sikander and his son. Ali Shah, only 11 families of Hindus were left in Kashmir. The rest were converted, killed or had been forced to migrate.

11

Shri Bhat : Light in the Darkness

As a result of efforts of Sultan Zainulab-ud-Din and Pandit Shri Bhat the ancient glory of Kashmir started returning, Temples started being built, ban was imposed on slaughter of cows, taxes were abolished and the migrant Hindus returned to their houses.

The state of Kashmir had become almost Hinduless because of the massive and powerful campaign for religious conversion launched by Sikander, the iconoclast, his son, cruel Ali Shah and antinational Saifuddin (Suha Bhat) and the cruel Syeds in their religious garb. Only a few Hindu families were living in Kashmir after paying taxes and after tolerating many difficulties and ignominies. The embers of the burnt libraries were still hot. The cries of the raped Hindu women were reverberating in Kashmir. The silence of the ruins of the temples was generating terror. The water of the Jehlum was still red with the blood of the Kashmiris. Amid this deep darkness there was refulgence from a lamp.

Sultan Zainulab-ud-Din, saviour of Kashmiriyat

In 1420 A.D. Sikander's second son, Sultan Zainulab-ud-Din, occupied the throne of Kashmir. He decided to compensate for the cruel activities and the sin of his father. Shrivar has given an impressive account of the liberal and tolerant Sultan, after having written about the deeds of earlier Sultans who had

crossed all the limits of cruelty. According to Shrivar, Zainulab-ud-Din was a ruler like a sandalwood balm that gives coolness after the end of the heat wave in the desert.

Zainulab-ud-Din, popularly called Zainul, tried to turn Kashmir towards its ancient glory. Under his orders many ruined temples were rebuilt. Those Kashmiri Pandits, who had migrated and scattered in different areas in India were invited back. Many industries were set up for the welfare of the people. Barren lands were made cultivable. For improving irrigation many plans were introduced. Constructive minded Zainul started many schemes for promoting art and culture. He got many Hindu scriptures translated in Persian. Through such deeds he earned love and loyalty from all. He achieved honour as a real king of Kashmir.

Behind all this good work and his awakend sympathy towards all human beings is hidden one important event, which the historians have concealed, which pertains to the change of his mind brought about by Shri Bhat.

Vaidraj Pandit Shri Bhat

It will be incomplete to describe the short glorious era of Kashmir without the introduction of Shri Bhat. Zainul had hardly completed two years on the throne when a dangerous boil developed on his chest. Many Syed Hakims treated him. Known Hakims from Central Asia came to treat him but there was no improvement. Sultan Zainul had heard that there were Hindu doctors in Kashmir who had the expertise in curing the boil after an incision. Under the orders of the Sultan a search for such doctors was launched but thanks to the activities of the Syeds, Kashmir was bereft of these doctors.

Historian Joanraj has written that just as a result of the anger of the snow, flowers are not seen or do not bloom in mid-winter, similarly no expert doctor was available because of the state repression. Ultimately Government employees found Sri Bhat, an expert in treating poisonous boils. But he delayed his arrival out of fear. And when he reached the palace, the king encouraged him. Shri Bhat treated successfully the poisonous

boil of the king.

While treating the Sultan Pandit Shri Bhat harboured fears of punishment in case the Sultan does not become well.

चिकित्सायां विदग्धः स म्लेच्छमीत्याव्यलम्बत।

स्फुलिंगदग्धः पुरुषः स्पृशत्यपि मणिं चिरात् (राज. 813)

He was well versed in treatment but he had started the treatment of Sultan carefully and hesitatingly like the one who touches a diamond, shining like fire, after sometime out of fear of already having suffered burns.

National interest above all

When the Sultan was fully well, he wanted to reward Shri Bhat with jewels and diamonds but Shri Bhat refused to accept any such regard. He did not bother about his personal comforts and amenities. He gave preference to the happiness and prosperity of his Kashmir. This attitude of Shri Bhat was something new for the Sultan. By rejecting wealth and prosperity Shri Bhat, while thinking in terms of the benefit of the nation, had decided to make the King adopt a liberal outlook and transform his lifestyle in the background of the historical and constructive mould. The Sultan witnessed transformation in the outlook of life and his religious fervour ended giving place to broadmindedness instead of narrowmindedness.

On being told by the Sultan Shri Bhat submitted seven demands which Zainul accepted gladly. These demands were :

1. The massacre of Hindus on the basis of reasonless religious conflict be stopped immediately and no one be punished without proper investigations and enquiries.
2. Those temples, which were damaged during the time of Alexander, be rebuilt. Permission be given to those Hindus, who had been forcibly converted to Islam, to return to the religion of their ancestors. Those Kashmiris who had migrated out of fear to areas outside Kashmir, where they were leading a life of penury, be immediately invited back to their houses.
3. The Sanskrit schools be reopened and facilities be made

available there for the Hindu students for their development and progress.

4. The taxes imposed on the Hindus be abolished and they be given equal rights.
5. While respecting the religious sentiments of the Hindus cow slaughter be banned.
6. The ban on performing Yagnya and rites and customs of Hindus be lifted.
7. Immediate repair of libraries, set ablaze by the Sultans, be undertaken.

History is witness to the fact that the Sultan accepted all the demands submitted by the patriot, Shri Bhat.

The return of the ancient golden age

Sanskrit scholars, who had migrated from the valley, returned to Kashmir and again Kashmiri Pandit families started resettling in Kashmir. On the request of Shri Bhat the Government sanctioned monetary help to the students and the scholars and many Sanskrit centres were reopened. The property of Hindus looted during the period of Alexander was returned to them. Zainul developed faith in Hindu religion. He started the study of Hindu scriptures. He ordered closure of all those centres which had been set up by the Syeds for perpetrating cruelty.

A Muslim historian, Mohd. Din Fak, has, given an account of Shri Bhat in his book "Shabab-e-Kashmir". According to him Shri Bhat became famous on the Government level after he refused to accept presents from the king. He was appointed state physician and head of the health department. He carried great influence on the king and his people. He earned this influence through resettlement of his people. He was desirous of peace and progress.

Joanraj has written that just as a lion does not attack other animals in the hermitage of saints, so the Turks now stopped punishing Brahmins as they used to do earlier. The sun like glorious king treated kindly those Brahmins whose very existence had been endangered earlier.

Famous historian, Abul Fazal, has, while giving an introduction of Shri Bhat in his book "Aain-e-Akbar", written that in the golden history of Kashmir, particularly in the context of the golden history of middle period, the glory of Zainulab Din, which is worth remembering, would have not been there and he too would have flowed with the tainted tide which had carried his parents had not Shri Bhat come in contact with him. This being the reason, for Joanraj to write that Zainul was always ready to implement all the suggestions of Shri Bhat in the historical tradition.

In many places in his book Joanraj has described Shri Bhat as a well-behaved and unique social leader in the history of Kashmir.

तस्य कीर्ति सुख राज्ञः प्रजानां हर्ष सन्ततिः
प्रारोहस्त्रीणी विस्फोटे तत्रैकस्मिन पातिते।। (राज. 815)

After the treatment of poisonous boil three beneficial matters were settled. Shri Bhat became famous because of the amazing curative treatment. Zainul was free from this fatal disease and as a result of it he was highly happy to see the bright future of the Hindus.

राज्ञस्तपप्रभावेन भट्टशिर्यनयेत च।
प्रजानामपि भाग्येन नास्य विघ्नोऽभवत्क्वचित्।। (राज. 11)

Joanraj has written that there was no problem in the Government because of secular penance of Zainul, Shri Bhat's successful policies and the fortune of the people.

Shri Bhat transformed Kashmiri society into a classless society

In the middle period of Kashmir the life of Shri Bhat, a brave Sanskrit scholar, is a gleaning page of history but besides this his life is a guide in the work and attitude for bringing the Muslim mind to the national stream in the present and in the future. Modern historians have not set their eyes on this type of great man who converted a Sultan, belonging to the family of heartless, cruel and destroyers of the roots of Indianness, to a nationalist and a secular king. In this context Shri Bhat had

the capacity to change the course of the era and as such he was a greatman of this era.

Because of the efforts of Shri Bhat when Hindu families returned to Kashmir for resettlement, the problem of their houses and earning cropped up. Under the guidance of Shri Bhat and under the permission and plan of the Government everyone was appointed on different posts in the Government as per their calibre. Shri Bhat resolved successsfully all the problems connected with their resettlement, their family arrangements, their security and their identity while linking them with the then administrative setup.

There were many castes and subcastes in Kashmir. This system had been demolished because of the atrocities committed by Muslim rulers. There was need to give new shape to this caste system in the light of the migration and then the reutrn of the displaced Hindus in miserable conditions. In such a situation Shri Bhat categorised all in one community of Brahmins.

Dr. Triloki Nath Ganjoo has made a detailed reference to it in his book "Mahashri Shribhat". He has said that possibly there was no need for analysing the soci-political development of Kashmiri Hindus but Shri Bhat has, through his revolutionary reforms, organised a classless and one class society not only in the history of Kashmir but for the entire Hindu society of India, on the scientific lines, while looking a thousand years ahead of him. It is surprising that the reforms for which Bhakti revolution, Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and Vishwa Hindu Parishad wanted to implement the bugle of this reform was sounded several hundred years ago by Shri Bhat in 1420 A.D. It was an instance of his deep insight in future.

He has said that the modern historians have, without fully understanding the Rajtarangani of Joanraj, considered the identity of Shri Bhat nothing beyond a minister of health. In this connection P.N. Koul (Bamzai), Dr. R.K. Parimoo and Dr. Mohibul Hassan are worth reference. But according to Joanraj Shri Bhat was a health minister but Zainul had given him the powers to look after all departments and he would take care of

other departments and activities of the Government. Historians have forgotten to note that, because of his unique and lovely personality he had not only influenced the Sultan but had also attracted him. He had eclipsed the biased influenced of Muslim ministers and the Syeds who had come from central Asia by his extraordinary personality.

Thus Shri Bhat is one such greatman of the history of Kashmir who, through innumerable qualities and matchless calibre of his grand personality, again linked defunct Kashmiri Hindus with the land of Kashmir.

12

Again a Black Chapter

The days of misfortune for Kashmiri Pandits returned again. Under the intoxication of fundamentalism the Sultans started issuing illegal orders regarding the cutting off the limbs of Hindus, kidnapping them for religious conversion, looting their wealth and in sending respectable people to prisons under different pretexts.

Zainulabdin's son, Hyder Shah, started undoing all that his father had done in re-establishing the ancient glory of Kashmir, in facilitating honourable return of the migrants, in re-establishing Sanskrit schools, in banning forcible conversion, and cow slaughter. Hyder shah reversed what his father had done in establishing peace, progress and in sowing the seed of the sacred feelings of coexistence. In 1474 A.D. he polluted and poisoned through fanaticism the paradise carved on the land of Kashmir by his father. The bloody storms of forcible religious conversion, which had been stalled because of the efforts of Zainul and his Prime Minister, Shri Bhat, had again lashed the valley like a cyclone.

Torture of innocent people for the sake of Islamic imperialism

Pandits had reached top posts in the administration in Kashmir, as per their calibre, because of the liberal policies of Sultan Zainul. This society was becoming influential in the field of trade, agriculture. This state of happiness was not cherished by those contractors of the Muslim society the Syeds from

central Asia who had set their foot on Kashmir to fulfil their dream of having a "Darul Islam" in the valley.

Thus they reminded Sultan Hyder Shah of this aim and through him they subjected the basic society to torture and atrocities.

In the Hindi translation of Rajtarangani Dr. Raghunath Singh has written that there was no sight of cruelty during the period of Zainulab Din. But as a result of his growing weakness, and on account of greed for power of his sons, there was advent of cruelty. A tussle ensued between Adam Khan and his younger brother Haji Khan at Shurpur and a marriage party that had come to Shurpur was killed without any fault.

After Zainul cruelty had touched new heights. Hyder Shah had a trusted barber, Bhratipuran, who used to get the limbs of the people severed. This was a simple affair for him. He had sawed the bodies of Thakkur and other trusted people of Zainul. People, walking on the roads, would be easily hauled up and five to six persons used to be executed at a time. The bodies of Vaidurya and Bhishag were mutilated on charge of being subversives. Many other prominent people including Sheekh and Nonak had to face chopping of their nose, hands and tongue. Terror had gripped people so much that many drowned themselves in Jehlum like Bhim and Jajj who had committed suicide by drowing in the river. The king himself used to encourage these cruel killings. He ordered killing of Hassan and others. They should be brought tactfully and killed. Hassan, who had organised the coronation of the king, Mer Kak and five-six persons were sitting on costly seats waiting for the regal orders. That very time the king ordered their killing. When Ahmed, known for his erudition and good qualities, was writing in the palace, he was killed suddenly. His body was not handed over to his family members. These unclaimed bodies were carried to the foot of a mountain where they were buried during the night. (Rajtarangini-2 : 466-47, 48-50, 53, 47, 78, 81, 88, 142)

The Sultan ordered torture of the Hindus. He ordered chopping of the hands and nose of Ajjar, Amar, Budh and other Brahmins. Those days "Bhats", on seeing the loot of their

community, would leave their country and while fleeing they shouted "we are not Bhats, we are not Bhats." Under the inspiration of foreigners the king ordered desecration and destruction of the idols of prominent deities. Those people who had been given lands by Zainul were deprived of it without any reason. (Rajtarangini -2 : 131-127)

Brave Pandits sounded the bugle of struggle

It is worth mentioning here that Hyder Shah ruled Kashmir for only one year. And within this one year he broke all the records of repression. But the common Muslim society did not support his cruelties. Possibly the one-year old good feelings were still alive. Pandits were still occupying key posts. Thus some Pandits dared to sound the bugle of struggle against the in human plans of Hyder Shah. But this revolt was crushed with strength.

A Muslim historian Hassan has written that when the cup of patience of Pandits overbrimmed, they together revolted. These angry Pandits set ablaze those mosques which had been built by Sikander out of the debris of the destroyed temples. With the power of the sword this revolt was crushed. Innumerable people were drowned in the river and there was none to stop the loot and killings.

Only those people could save themselves who either fled, or went into hiding or adopted Islam or became obedient servants of the Sultan and lived an ignominious life after paying taxes. But during the time of Hyder Shah the practice of religious conversion was confined to some big cities like Srinagar only. Hindus and Muslims continued to live in love in the villages. This tussle remained confined to the upper class of Hindus and Muslims because its main aim was to dislodge Hindus from the key posts. But Hindus too became victim of this loot, plunder, struggle and massacre. During this one year 24,000 Hindus had been converted to Islam, Brotherhood and mutual love that had been established during the reign of Zainul were completely destroyed. Kidnapping of Hindu women, their rape and their killing had become a daily routine. The exodus of Hindus from Kashmir started again.

Impact of the call of Islamic doctrines

After Hyder Shah's one year of cruel rule, Hassan Khan (1475 A.D.) occupied the throne. Hassan Khan, a lover of music, took the reigns of the Government in his hands and revived all the civilised and cultural traditions of the period of Zainul. He was also a scholar of Sanskrit language. He had deeply studied and understood the Hindu life philosophy. He, therefore, got run centres of Sanskrit and art and schools for the promotion of culture.

But despite all these works he became a victim of a horrible conspiracy. Hassan Khan was a great boozer. He used to booze and enjoy the dance of dancers in the music concert throughout the night. He would, because of these engagements, devote a little time towards the administration. Taking advantage of this weakness of the king of the Syeds raised their head again. The drunkard king had no strength to crush the poisonous fangs of the snake like Syeds. These very Syeds prepared a Muslim class in the administration which was entrusted with the task of carrying out religious conversion of Hindus in the absence of the Sultan. These Syeds were foreigners. They had no link with Kashmir. Their only aim was to force Hindus to adopt Islam. They started preparing Hassan Khan for perpetrating atrocities on Hindus in the name of Islamic principles. One famous Syed, Nasira, married his daughter with the Sultan. And now onwards the Syeds started playing political dice on the level of the relation between the son-in-law and the the father-in-law.

The Sultan continued to get entrapped in their tricks and the Syeds got an opportunity to enjoy hegemony in the state administration. According to Dr. Raghunath Singh, cruelty further intensified during the period of Hassan Shah. Hassan Shah gouged out the eyes of Bahram Khan, son of Zainul. First his eyes were covered with cotton and later red hot iron rods were pierced through his eyes. Shrivar feels incapable of giving an account of pain Bahram Khan suffered. Inspired by the torture and death of Abhimanyu, Hassan Shah had ordered removing of the eyes of Bahram Khan. The same torture of

Abhimanyu became an object of misfortune for the Sultan who was arrested. (Rajtarangini-3: 107-109 and 130-133)

It was a simple routine for keeping anyone in the prison. Out of anger Sultan Hassan sent Avtar Singh and others to the jail without any trial and justice. Many prominent citizens became victim of the anger of the Sultan and were jailed and later their eyes were gouged out. After two years' of imprisonment they too were killed like Bahram Khan. Yusuf was the son of Bahram Khan who was innocent. He was jailed because of his father and on account of being a man from the royal dynasty. Even being innocent he was killed. Officers and ministers too would be jailed without any thought. (Rajtaragini - 3 : 100, 131, 135, 399)

Loot of wealth and property was a routine affair. On getting dissatisfied the Sultan would grab wealth and property of his ministers, associates and beloved ones any day without any reason or thought. The Sultan was not responsible for anyone. He was without any restraint. The ministers too would behave without any self-restraint. Suspicious people and those who opposed them were immediately banished. (Rajtarangini-3 : 148, 155)

The Hindus were so much terrorised by the atrocities ordered by Sultan Hassan Khan, under the influence of the Syeds, that they thought it better to migrate from Kashmir. And those who remained in Kashmir shaved off their tuft of hair and removed their sacred thread after tearing it. Hindu customs, religious functions and prayers were being performed within the four walls of their houses. Tormented and victimised Hindus inflicted wounds on the nose and ears of their daughters so that their ugly visage would save them from the evil designs of the Sultans and their henchmen.

Influential Muslim sardars revolted

The strength of the Syeds was so large that they increased the pace of religious conversion. Hindus would be forcibly dragged out of their houses and beef was stuffed in their mouths to pollute their religion. These inhuman plans and activities

generated anger among the Hindus but besides this number of influential Muslim sardars and leaders of Muslim organisations were also annoyed over these inhuman actions of the Syeds. They protested against it. As a result of this terrorism generated by the Syeds, a section of Hindus and Muslims decided to revolt against the Sultan. Their representatives succeeded in establishing contact with the Sultan.

One big General, Jehangir Mage, whose strength had been cut asunder by the Syeds, managed to reach the King. He told the king candidly that these Syeds had been once banished but had been recalled. He told the King "you have yourself invited this curse to this peaceful state... In the hope of support the Turks have given additional encouragement to the Syeds. And one should always beware of them. They are as much desirous of power as the kite is greedy of flesh. My Lord, it is not proper to discard other goals by clinging to one side... I am going away in the interest of the security and protection of the state and of you. The country has been ruined but you should try to protect yourself".

The same Jehangir assumed the leadership of those local Muslims who had started a revolt against the dictatorial bigotry of the king and collected some companies of soldiers in his areas of influence and left the capital of the state so that appropriate action was launched at opportune time.

Apart from the foreign Syeds and some local Muslims there was one third political force of the Chhak community which enjoyed hegemony in Kashmir. When during the time of King Sehdev, Rinchan from Tibet and Shahmir from Turkey had come to Kashmir, at that very time one Muslim sardar, Lankar, Chhakya, also had reached Kashmir from the nearby Persian territory. At that time this community got no opportunity for creating some area of influence in Kashmir. By having stayed in Kashmir for a long time they had mingled with the life style of Kashmir. Taking advantage of the atmosphere of anarchy in the state the Chhaks, known for their fighting valour, mustered courage and jumped into the revolt against the Syeds and their atrocities on the people.

Hindus suffered more in this revolt

Though the Pandits tried to keep themselves away from this revolt, the flames of this rebellion hit them hard. With the full support of the King, Syeds crushed the revolt through many inhuman and terrorist plans. They would enter the houses of Pandits and stay there for many days for forcing them to accepted religious conversion. Consumption of liquor and perpetrating atrocities on those women were a daily routine. In the houses of Pandits their lands were grabbed and their occupation too was forcibly taken away. One Vaishnavi Brahmin, "Muni", with the help of his associates, opposed these Syeds and their terrorist friends. With courage and determination these religious and patriotic youths faced the terrorists. But they were very small in number and were crushed by the huge and cruel strength of the Government. The houses of these nationalist poeple were destroyed and their women were made victims of their lust. Many were forcibly kidnapped by these inhuman bigots and others consumed poison or jumped into the river or well to commit suicide.

The entire era is full of struggles, conspiracies and intrigues. The state administration was totally disturbed by the continued armed campaigns launched by different tribes, different groups of powerful courtiers, ruling and the opposition sides in order to assume power. King after king assumed power forcibly. Syeds, Dhars, Magri and Chhak communities openly participated in these political conspiracies. Among the foreign powers two groups were strong and influential. First was the Chhak group which adopted Shia sect and other group was of the Syeds who usually were Sunni Muslims. Kashmir Pandits had to suffer tribulations because of the conflict between the Chhaks and the Syeds. The sagas of atrocities committed by the Syeds have been mentioned in earlier chapters. In the same way the Chhaks ruled Kashmir for 33 years.

Atrocities of Chhak rulers

These Chhak rulers too left no stone unturned in looting

and destroying Kashmiri Pandits. They forced them to migrate from Kashmir and carried out their conversion to Islam. The three main rulers. Qazi Chhak, Mhussainshah Chhak and Alishah Chhak, adopted painful means for converting a major chunk of the Hindu population into the Shia sect.

According to Justice Kilam, in his book, "The History of Kashmiri Pandit", under the orders of the Chhak rulers 1,000 cows would be slaughtered daily without any opposition. He has written that Brahmins were subjected to force like an eclipsed sun. They lost their means of livelihood. Like the musk deer the Brahmins too became rare in the country. After the banishment Brahmins had to remain alert and at times they were made an object of hatred and ridicule.

During the rule of the Chhaks the Brahmins were subjected to special pressures. They had to pay for performing their religious customs. The house in which lived a family of charactered Brahmin had to pay a yearly gift to the king for preserving his sect. Every Brahmin was supposed to present 40 precious stones (emerald and diamonds) to the king annually for the preservation of their sacred thread. Good Brahmins had left the country. Weak Brahmins had relinquished their sect.

Converted Moosa Raina increased pace of conversion

In this era of uncertainty and disturbances Fateh Shah too ruled Kashmir. Prior to the Mughal rule, he was the last Sultan to occupy the throne of Kashmir. During his time a follower of Shia sect and a Muslim religious preacher, Shams-ud-Din Iraqi came to Kashmir. With him came many fundamentalist Muslim Mullahs and Molvis. Fateh Shah himself was a strong Muslim fundamentalist. The work for converting Hindus into Muslims had his backing and protection. During this period one converted Muslim, Moosa Raina, who had fled to a foreign land during the conflict with the Syeds, returned to Kashmir. He gave a full display of his anti-national attitude. With the help of Moosa the Shia Preacher, Shams-ud-Din, set up a new record in the annihilation of Hindus.

Mohd. Din Fak has written in his "History of Kashmir" that the Shia preacher, Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, alongwith Moosa Raina returned with added vigour and feeling for religious preaching in Kashmir. When peaceful means of educating people failed, force was used. Though Fateh Shah was a Sunni Muslim, it is said many Sunni Muslims were forced to accept Shia sect and many were killed. But Pandits became the main target of his wickedness. Many were killed. Innumerable Pandits had to fled from Kashmir

About 28,000 Pandits were forcibly converted into to Shia sect. The property of the Hindus was confiscated. Those who were allowed to live had to pay taxes imposed by Moosa Raina.

The same Moosa Raina had besides providing financial assistance to Shams-ud-Din gifted his land to him. In order to utilise the influence and power of Moosa Raina Shams-ud-Din had given full patronage and encouragement to Raina. He held a meeting with Fateh Shah where it was decided to take full advantage of this anti-nationalist. Sultan Fateh Shah appointed Moosa Raina as his Prime Minister. Power hungry and a wolf in the guise of man Moosa Raina, on assuming the seat of the Prime Minister, directed the sharp edge of his dagger towards Hindus. This demon got scholastic and influential Hindus killed under his supervision. For the purpose of destroying temples he formed a gang under the leadership of one quarrelsome Chhak, which was given arms for eliminating Hindu families and for destroying Hindu temples and schools. And while tolerating terrific pains and miseries some Hindus grouped under the leadership of a Pandit scholar, Nirmal Kant, and sent a delegation to Moosa Raina. All the requests and appeals of the delegation fell on the deaf ears.

Their implorings and appeals had not only humiliated them but all of them were arrested because it was no use to plead in front of a cruel ruler like Fateh Shah, clever and diplomat like Shams-ud-Din and heartless Prime Minister like Moosa Raina. All of them were jailed and were forced to die out of hunger. This era, thus, became a tainted page in the black history of Kashmir.

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Sweet Poison in Kashmir's Veins

The Mughal kings, no doubt, opened the way for development and construction, garden, mosques and tombs were built in the Mughal style, but the broken temples, with scars, continued to remain in ruins. Even the shadow of construction and development did not fall on them. Religious conversion continued with affection and encouragement. Indian nationalism in Kashmir continued to be axed as was the case earlier.

Towards the end of the 16th century, the entire India was under the one-man rule of the Mughal King, Akbar, Kashmir was still away from his grip. Thus it was understandable that Kashmir would receive attention from Akbar whose imperialistic desires were well known. This time Yusuf Shah Chhak was the ruler of Kashmir. As a result of his cruel political behaviour many rebel groups had surfaced and some among them requested Governor of Lahore, Raja Man Singh, to conquer Kashmir.

The result was that Akbar ordered a powerful armed campaign under the leadership of Raja Bhagwan Das on Kashmir. In the initial stages Yusuf Shah Chhak faced the soldiers of Akbar but later joined Akbar's troops like a coward. On seeing this development, his opponents installed a rebel Sardar, Yaqub Chhak, on the throne of Kashmir. On assuming power Yaqub Chhak held the command of the troops and

started eliminating the soldiers of Bhagwan Das. Sensing defeat Bhagwan Das forged a truce with Yaqub Chhak and returned to his state.

Both Kashmiri Pandits and Sunni Muslims—victims of Yaqub's demonic hunger

On assuming the throne Yaqub Chhak, while exhibiting his communalism, restarted religious conversion. The flames of religious fanaticism emerged out of the ash. The famous Jama Masjid in Srinagar became the centre of such fanatic activities. From here were issued directions for Jehad to the fanatic youths. According to historian, Mohd. Din Fak, Yaqub was a fanatic Shia Musalman. He issued orders to Sunni Muslims to change many of their religious customs. The mosques of Sunni Muslims were damaged. As a result of it there followed Shia-Sunni riots in which Sunni houses and families were destroyed. Yaqub got a Sunni Muslim Qazi (priest) killed.

This did not mark an end of the demonic hunger of Yaqub. The course of the storm of his atrocities turned towards the Hindus. After humiliating Hindu women this mean Sultan ordered their massacre. Kashmiri Hindus were scared and terrorised. Many committed suicide before presenting themselves for mass religious conversion. A new trend took place under which Hindus were hauled up in their houses which were set ablaze.

Being fed up with the communal atmosphere and anarchy in the entire State a delegation of Sunni Muslims and Kashmiri Pandits, under the leadership of Sheikh Sharief and Baba Dawood, reached the court of Akbar. Akbar welcomed them and held parleys with them, where agreement was forged on important issues. Akbar assured the delegation that there would be no intereference from the Government in the religious customs of the people of Kashmir, there would be no share for the old Sultans in the administration and Kashmiris will be brought out of the pitiable situation. After this agreement Akbar sent his troops to Kashmir under the leadership of Mir Qasim and following his victory he made the valley a part of his

empire.

Upto the time Kashmir became part of Akbar's empire the political situation in Kashmir had totally collapsed. Its economy had registered total collapse. And Kashmir's art and culture had been totally eclipsed.

From the saga of the fall of Kashmir and from all the historical facts connected with the misrule and misfortune one thing becomes clear, whenever riots and cruelty of the Government manifest themselves, Kashmiri Hindus became the main victim and target of it. The fall of the basic heritage in Kashmir is highly heart rending.

Era of Akbar's rule

As part of the Mughal empire Kashmir's link with rest of India was renewed. Akbar visited Kashmir thrice. An attempt was made to carry to Kashmir Akbar's liberal policies. And Kashmir was freed from anarchy. As in other regions of India, the administration in Kashmir was entrusted to a Subedar allowing the Government in Delhi to have its control on Kashmir. Administration and institutions were set up on the Mughal pattern in Kashmir.

During the stay of Akbar in Kashmir his court poet, Maulana Faize, wrote a poem after being attracted by Kashmir

गुब्बारे ऊ बतवां ख्वांद चश्मरा दारु।
गयाह ऊ बतवां गुफ़्त रुहरा अकसीर।।

It means : The dust of Kashmir is like an eye lotion and its grass and herbs are powerful medicines for beauty. Court poets are usually engaged in writing poems as per the desires of the kings. Thus Faizee's couplet is an expression of the feelings of Akbar and his attraction towards Kashmir. Akbar started many plans and schemes for the welfare of the people of Kashmir. People were delighted over the advent of peace in Kashmir and they got engaged in various development works of the state.

A comprehensive scheme was launched for rehabilitating honourably, Kashmiri Hindus in their original places. For this work one influential Hindu, Aditya Pandit, was appointed head

of the ministry, specially established for it. Some villages were made protected zones for the Pandits only. They were given land free of cost. For the first time, after Kanishka, Kashmir became a part of a vast empire. The local trade progressed because of the development of road links between Kashmir and other parts of India. The traditional Kashmir handicrafts started being exported. Kashmiri traders started visiting even central Asia in connection with their business. Now the Kashmiri Hindu started getting prosperous.

The importance of Kashmiri Pandits in the administration started being felt. Taxes imposed on Kashmiri Pandits were abolished totally. Hindus from this place reached Delhi and other big towns of India. They started regaining their ancient glory. The exchange of views between Muslim and Pandit scholars proved beneficial for the entire India. The emerging political, social and military disturbances for many centuries stopped now. Those who indulged in such exercises had no place in the administration and the Government. Pandits started getting posts of Army officers and commanders. People started breathing an air peace after movement of foodgrains became easy on the main roads constructed between the Jehlum valley and Pir Panjal.

Hideouts of infiltrators destroyed

After Akbar, Jehangir occupied the throne of Delhi. As a lover of pleasure Jehangir too became fond of Kashmir. Jehangir too did not show an indifferent behaviour towards the Hindus. His Subedars too were lovers of pleasure they did not interefere in the religious freedom of Hindus.

Kashmiri Pandits started being inducted as commanders of the companies of soldiers for the purpose of guarding the borders. During the time of Jehangir one Meru Pandit was an Army officer was the Sardar of a fort in the south. Jehangir appointed him Chief of the security guards of Queen Noor Jahan. One day Jehangir was surrounded by his court sardar but a rebel, Mohabat Khan, and his soldiers on the bank of the Jehlum. At that time Meru Pandit alongwith the security

guards of Noor Jahan defeated Mohabbat Khan in the battle.

Historian Mohd. Din Fak has written that on seeing the bravery and skillful Army command of Meru Pandit, Jehangir gifted him estates in Kashmir and appointed him Army Chief for the security of all fortresses in Kashmir.

During the closing period of the Mughal rule groups of dacoits and marauders started infiltrating into Kashmir from the forest belts of Afghanistan and loot property. They increased these activities with the connivance of the border guards. Then the Subedar of Kashmir ordered one Hindu Chieftain, Balaki Pandit, to curb infiltration. This brave Pandit reorganised the border security force and under his supervision mounted vigil on the border and gave full powers to the Army to stop the infiltration.

The infiltrators were followed inside their territory and one day Balaki Pandit, while flushing out the infiltrators, crossed deep into the border of Afghanistan and after three days' battle he returned after destroying all the hideouts of these infiltrators.

The tradition of pursuing the infiltrators and the terrorists deep in their territory and destroying their hideouts and training centres was first established in the history by a Kashmiri Pandit.

During the time of Jehangir, Kashmir got all opportunities and facilities for progress of common people. Jehangir used to come to Kashmir and while describing the beauty of Kashmir he had said that Kashmir is an endless garden of spring, delight packed bed of flowers and an ancestral land which gives happiness to the soul of the sages. The beauty of its happy meadows and its attractive cascade is worth description. There are innumerable cascades and streams.

Invasion of Muslim sardars on Pt. Mahadev's house

After Jehangir Shahajahan occupied the throne of Delhi. He too was enamoured of Kashmir. As lover of art and architecture he got built many gardens and springs in Kashmir.

The famous gardens of Shalimar, Achabal, Nishat and the Spring of Chashmashahi and many other gardens were raised. All these played a role in promoting peace, happiness and prosperity in Kashmir. But this construction and development was done in the Mughal style. The ancient art and architecture of Kashmir were eclipsed. The art of Hindus could not get re-established. Besides this, dress, style of living, food habits and social customs were being influenced by the Mughal style.

Shahjahan visited Kashmir six to seven times. He kept on encouraging the activities of the followers of Islam and religious preachers. As lover of mountains, streams, cascades and worshipper of architecture he focussed his attention towards the construction and development of mosques but the temples, monasteries and libraries, which were destroyed by the followers of his religion, did not attract his attention.

Even during the time of Shahjahan the practice of installing Kashmiri Pandits on top posts continued. But a section of the local Muslims started conspiring against the Pandits' holding key posts. During the rule of Shahjahan one Governor of Kashmir, Ali Mardan, had appointed one Hindu leader, Pandit Mahadev, as his chief advisor and entrusted all powers of the state to him. Muslims belonging to the upper class started getting jealous of him because of his calibre, wisdom and capacity for work.

That very time one region of Kashmir was gripped by famine. Pandit Mahadev made all arrangements for the relief of the famines affect people through his strength and capacity. But despite ample facilities provided by the Government some people died because of famine. Taking advantage of it, some Muslim sardars and Muslim leaders of some political groups raised hue and cry against Pandit Mahadev. One Muslim leader, Khwaza Maaf, alongwith a group of people attacked the house of Mahadev. They entered into his house and after looting valuable property set the house on fire. All the Hindu houses in that area were also looted. This incident generated communal tension in the entire state. The news reached Delhi and King Shahjahan summoned prominent Muslim leaders but by then their influence had increased so much that Shahjahan

too was unable to punish them. Some guilty people were let off after a mild reprimand.

Historian Hassan has written that when these Muslims, under the leadership of one sardar, Yusuf Shah, reached the court of Shahjahan in Delhi, Yusuf Shah was insulted during his meeting with the king. He could not tolerate this humiliation and fainted there and then. After some days he died.

Paradise or the land of lust

Shahjahan was emotional about Kashmir. During his time one Persian poet, Urfi, has expressed Shahjahan's emotions in the following couplet:

अगर फिरदौस बर रुए जमीं अस्त

हमीं अस्त हमीं अस्त हमीं अस्त

(If there is paradise in the world, it is then this Kashmir, it is here, it is here).

But this land was not a paradise only because of its lovely mountains, cool valleys and streams. This land was called a paradise because of the high human principles of art, cultural value, religious equality and coexistence. But the conception of paradise on the part of Muslim kings was based on materialism and that is why they used to come to the valley for satiating their lust in the paradise. Thus the land they called the paradise was actually a land of lust for them. Here lies the difference between the Indian mind, which used to worship the land in the form of mother, and that of the foreigners for whom the land was merely a land of lust.

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Religious Conversion with Sword

Aurangzeb, on assuming power in Delhi, took his sword out of the shield for converting entire India into a Darul Islam. For fulfilling his cruel desire one Subedar of Kashmir, Iftihar Khan, played a "bloody Holi" with the Pandits for increasing the pace of religious conversion.

When after Shahjahan fundamentalist Aurangzeb occupied the throne of Delhi he tore to shreds the well debated and so called secular policies of his predecessor Mughal rulers. He, while rejecting all the double-edged policies of the Mughal emperors, took his sword out of the shield to implement God's dictate for converting India into an Islamic state. The entire country was shocked and shudered because of his atrocities. First of all he made Hindu scholars and the Pandit community as his target. He believed that this very community of Hindus would teach people their religion and nationalism. It is because of their preaching and teaching that the entire population of India had not become Muslims despite continuous pressure for many years. He thought that it was necessary to eliminate the Brahmin community for the elimination of that society that keeps on struggling against conversion.

This analysis of the Indian mind made by Aurangzeb became the source of encouragement for him in his evil and cruel deeds. Since Kashmir has remained India's centre for learning and since the same land has produced great scholars,

Aurangzeb entrusted the reigns of the land to dreadful Subedars for Islamisation of Kashmir.

During his 49-years rule Aurangzeb deputed 14 Subedars to Kashmir for achieving his goal of Islamisation. And among those Subedars Iftihar Khan proved the most loyal who between 1671-75 perpetrated cruelties on the Hindus of Kashmir and forced them to adopt Islam.

Kashmiri Pandits approach Guru Teg Bahadur for help

After getting frustrated by the inhuman cruelties committed by Iftihar Khan, Kashmiri Pandits decided to approach great nationalist, Shri Guru Teg Bahadur, at Anandpur Sahib in Punjab for help, about 500 Pandits, under the leadership of Pandit Kripa Ram, met Guru Teg Bahadur. Giani Gurja Singh has given an account of the appeal of Pandits to the Guru. He has written :

बांहि असाडी पकरिए, गुरु गोबिन्द के चन्द
हमरो बल अब रहयो नहीं काई, हे गुरु तेग बहादुर राई
गज के बन्धन काटन हारे, तुम गुरु नानक है अवतारे,
जिन दरोपति राखी लाज, दियो सवार सुदामै काजे
तुम कलयुग के कृष्ण मुरारी, नाम रहे सदीव तउ, पुरो जन की आस

(Guru Teg Bahadur, son of Guru Hargobind, we have now no strength. Take us by our arm. You are world reformer, you are a prophet of Guru Nanak, just as Lord Krishna saved the honour of misfortune-stricken Draupdi and shaped and smoothened the work of his beloved Sudama, similarly you are the current Krishna to set right things. Kindly fulfil the hopes of the people. You will remain immortal).

The delegation from Kashmir, under the leadership of Pandit Kripa Ram, narrated their condition to acquaint Guru Teg Bahadur of the situation in Kashmir.

An account of this pity-inspring story has been given by Giani Gian Singh in his book "Shri Guru Granth Prakash" whose translation is published in September issue of the Weekly Panchjanya in 1991 and this describes the evil deeds of

Aurangzeb and Subedar Iftihar Khan.

He has written that the Mughal of Chugtai dynasty, Aurangzeb, is highly wicked. Being drunk he has occupied the throne of Delhi. He does not recognise the power of God in relation to the non-Muslims. This cruel person has willed to do evil deeds. He wants to dye the entire India in the colour of his religion and Islamise it. This proud and arrogant person has ordered demolition of all temples of deities without any delay. He wanted to finish ancient customs and religious and pious policies. He would not allow worship of deities, ancestors, God, prayers and association with saints and sages. Propagation of Puranic tales, importance of pilgrimages and worship of deities have all been finished. On the other side construction of mosques and propagation of the Koran have increased in India. It is not known what shape the future will take ?

Through allurement and atrocities he has converted many Hindus to Islam. Many Hindus have been polluted after their sacred thread and vermillion were removed. This way a big misfortune has gripped the Hindus in India. It gives immense pain. There is no parallel to his cruelty. He removes 1.25 maunds of sacred thread daily. These Muslims have plundered honour of everyone. This cruel ruler had forcibly abducted many daughters of Hindus and offered them to cruel people. We all have thought over all these misfortunes and have come to your refuge for the protection of the religion of the land. Now you alone can save us.

A historical decision for protection of religion

Shri Guru Teg Bahadur became engrossed in deep thought after listening to the story of the Pandits. His face lit bright like the sun. The Kshatriya in him awakened for the protection of religion and nation. His son, Gobind Rai, enquired from him the reason of his trance. The Guru told his inquisitive son that there is need for the sacrifice of a greatman for protecting the Hindu society from the misfortune. The son of the Guru, who was dedicated to the nation and religion, had the same blood in his veins. He said instantly "Who else is more great than you" ?

With these words of his son, Gobind, Shri Guru Teg Bahadur decided to sacrifice himself for the protection of the sacred thread and vermillion (Tilak). This decision was of national importance, because it changed the course of future history.

Shri Guru Teg Bahadur sent a message to Aurangzeb that if he could convert Teg Bahadur to Islam, every Hindu will become a Muslim. On receiving this message Aurangzeb danced out of delight and ordered Subedar of Kashmir, Iftihar Khan, to stop forcible religious conversion because now it had to be easy to complete this work. Only one person had to be converted to Islam and the rest will automatically accept Islam. He sent a message to Anandpur Sahib inviting Shri Guru Teg Bahadur to Delhi.

Prior to the receipt of this invitation Guru Teg Bahadur had left for Delhi alongwith his five disciples. On reaching the periphery of Delhi all were arrested and carried to the court of Aurangzeb. There was a discussion between Aurangzeb and the Guru. The Guru roared like a lion and told the king that he could not change his religion. Forcing anyone to change religion was against humanity. The Mughal ruler is irreligious by following an irreligious path. Honouring his dictates and orders is a deep dishonour for the entire country of India and for the vast Hindu society. He told him that he opposed, strongly, clearly and with determination these evil deeds.

Aurangzeb felt losing ground under his feet on seeing the courage and strong religious faith of Guru Teg Bahadur. Aurangzeb flared up and gave two options to the Guru—either death or adoption of Islam.

Great love for Hindu religion

The Guru opted for the option of death for sacrificing his life for the protection of nation and religion. And for this very purpose he had come from Anandpur Sahib to Delhi. The desire of the Guru and his expression of courage finds an account in the book "Shri Guru Pratap Suraj".

तिन ते सुनि श्री तेगबहादुर, धर्म निबाइनि बिखै बहादुर
उत्तर भन्यो, धरम हम हिन्दु, अति प्रिय को किम करहिं निकन्दू
लोक-प्रलोक बिखै सुखदानी, आन न पईयति जांहि समानी
मतिमलीन मूरख मति जोई, इसको त्यागहि पामर ते सोई
दीन दुनी महिं दुख को पावे, जम सजाई दे नहिं व्रिपतावै
सुमतिवन्त हम, कहु कयों त्यागहिं, धरम राखिबे नित अनुराहिं

(On hearing Aurangzeb the brave Guru Teg Bahadur said : "We belong to Hindu religion. How can we give up our highly dear Hindu religion ? This Hindu religion is a source of happiness in this and the other world. No other religion seems to be equal to Hindu religion. Those having mean and unwise bent of mind and give up this religion are wicked and base. Such people suffer greatly in this world and even Yamraj (god of death) does not get satisfied while punishing them. We are wise and learned. Why should we forsake Hindu religion ? We have a permanent commitment and love for protecting our religion".

This gave birth to a period of cruelty on Guru Teg Bahadur and his colleagues. Tieing to a hot pillar, throwing hot sand on their bodies, wounding their bodies and other intolerable pains became a routine. And whenever anyone was not made unstable, orders were issued to kill them mercilessly. As per the Fatwah (decree) of the royal Qazi the Gurus first associate, Bhai Dayal, was thrown in a boiling pot and killed. The second associate Bhai Sati Das, was packed in a bale of cotton which was set ablaze and the third one, Bhai Mati Das, was sawed to death. After the immortal sacrifice of these three persons, Shri Guru Teg Bahadur was beheaded. Before his assassination the Guru had recited the first five lines of the sacred book Japuji. This way the name of this great nationalist is immortal in the pages of history for having smashed the arrogance of Aurangzeb.

Guru Teg Badaur treats this misery as national tragedy.

This great nationalist sacrificed everything on the altar of India, its religion and its nationalist life values. He gave a call for the entire Hindu society to unite and get strong for preserving and protecting their religion. On the request of

Kashmiri Hindus a greatman of Punjab went to Delhi and sacrificed his head. This by itslef is an example of basic unity of our nation. No one, at that time, had said that he being a Panjabi why should he die for Kashmiri. There was no dirty game of votes and appeasement at that time. There was no danger of losing the Muslim vote bank through the sacrifice of Guru Teg Bahadur.

Treating the cries of 500 Kashmiris as the pain and misfortune of the entire Hindu society and India he sacrified in the interest of the nation. He did not treat the problem of Kashmir as an ordinary national issue. It was really an image of the tragedy of the entire nation. Thus the woeful tale of 500 Kashmiri Pandits was given national importance by the Guru who sacrificed himself to fulfil the national duty. But today the woeful plight of three lakh Kashmiri Hindus, who have migrated from the valley, could not achieve national importance. Possibly there is no great nationalist and saviour of religion like Guru Teg Bahadur in India at present. Everybody is a victim of the policy of "vote bank" and appeasement and are busy in baking their bread in the flaming oven of Kashmir problem. The traders of Muslim "vote bank" not only handed over Kashmir to terrorists in the interest of their self-interest but also wasted the sacrifice of Guru Teg Bahadur for Kashmir. The situation has reached a stage where anyone having solid, clear and right outlook on the security of Kashmir are being dubbed as anti-Muslim. It means that the importance of the Muslim vote bank is greater than the security of Kashmir and integrity of the country.

Great sacrifice

How strange it looks : the Guru who sacrificed himself for the safety of Kashmiri Panditis, the so called and disloyal followers of the same Guru are now supporting those who are the cause for the current disaster of Kashmiri Pandits. What else can be the national tragedy and misfortune that once again Kashmir is a victim of the schemes of Aurangzeb ? At that time 500 Kashmiri Pandits had found Guru Teg Bahadur but today three lakh Kashmiri Pandits are helpless in finding any saviour of religion.

On receiving the news about the sacrifice of Guru Teg Bahadur his son, Shri Guru Gobind Singh, had said :

तिलक जंजू राखा प्रभ ताका कीनो बड़ो कलु महि साका
साधनि हेति रति जिन करि, सीसु दीआ पर सी न उचरी
धरम हेत साका तिनि किया, सीसु दीआ पर सिरुर न दीयां

Guru Teg Bahadur's religious steadfastness and his nationalism and his unique and matchless sacrifice would be remembered for ages. It was a great deed for the protection of Hindu society, nation and the permanent vlaues of humanity. With this unique sacrifice of Guru Teg Bahadur the rule of Aurangzeb started experiencing tremors. This sacrifice led to the wave of Hindutva, which swept the entire India, and direction was given to this wave by Guru Gobind Singh in Punjab, Rana Raj Singh in Rajasthan, Shiva Ji in the south and Chatrasal in the east. A united revolt was launched against the cruel Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb had himself, before his death, prepared the coffin for the Mughal rule through his fundamentalist and cruel dictatorial policies. After him the Mughal rule started witnessing continuous fall. Though many states in India had declared independence, Kashmir continued to remain under the Mughal rule. In Kashmir Mir Ahmed Khan was running the administration as Naib Subedar. His policies were liberal towards Hindus but the process of religious conversion continued with a slow pace.

Muhata Khan's dangerous resolution

Muhata Khan, a Muslim Sardar, was an influential person in the court of Bahadur Shah, who succeeded Aurangzeb on the throne of Delhi. He was a Kashmiri but having remained out of the valley for a long time he had established contact with the Mughal ruler in Delhi. He had become an owner of an estate in Delhi because of the benevolence of Bahadur Shah. But when he lost his estate after the death of Bahadur Shah he returned to Kashmir. He requested Subedar Mir Ahmed Khan to give up his liberal policy. He established an honourable place in the Muslim society because of his knowledge of Islam. Gradually he

started criticising the basic principles of Hindu religion, religious customs in Kashmir. In his eyes conversion of Hindus to Islam in any fashion was the order of God. That is why he got fully engaged in this work. He objected to the grant of equal rights to Hindus by the Subedar. That human approach and policy was intolerable for him.

Khwaja Ajim Khan has given information about the dangerous resolution Muhata Khan submitted to the Subedar of Kashmir. In his book "History of Kashmir" Ajim Khan has said that Muhata Khan was a scholar of Islamic laws. Once he had bitterly criticised the liberal policies of Subedar Mir Ahmed Khan towards Hindus. He had made it clear that progress of Hindus was not tolerable in any way. In this context he submitted the following proposals to the Subedar.

1. Hindus should not be allowed to ride a horse. 2. They should not wear "jama" (a type of Mughal dress). 3. They should not handle weapons. 4. They should not visit gardens. 5. They should not put vermillion (Tilak) on their forehead. 6. Their wards should not be given any education.

The Subedar rejected all the proposals of Muhata Khan. He instructed Muhata Khan to remain away from such activities.

Attack on Hindu function

But Muhata Khan decided to have his way for achieving his aim by taking law in his hands. He set up a centre of his activities in a mosque. He incited people, who used to come for Nimaz, for remaining rigid on Islam and bring the idol worshippers within the ambit of Islamic principles. Having been influenced by his powerful religious discourses the Muslim youth decided to obey his instructions. Muhata Khan issued instructions for implementing his above mentioned resolutions on Hindus. The result was that any Hindu found with vermillion (Tilak) on his forehead would be smashed. Hindus could no longer ride horses and wearing good dresses was banned for them.

At that time an attack on a famous trader, Majlis Rai Chopra, took a historical turn. Arrangements for a luncheon in connection with a religious function were made by Majlis Rai. When thousands of Hindus were having their lunch in a garden Muhata Khan, with a band of bigots, attacked them with weapons. Majlis Rai managed to escape and took shelter in the house of Mir Ahmed Shah. But that house too was gheroad and surrounded by the men of Muhata Khan. Mir Ahmed Khan escaped from a secret door and took refuge in a nearby cantonment. He waged a battle, with the help of a company of troops, against Muhata Khan but was defeated. Muhata Khan arrested and jailed this supporter of Hindus and assumed power himself.

Majlis Rai was killed mercilessly and all his property was confiscated. It was followed by shameless atrocities on the Hindus. There was turmoil among the Hindu families. Many Hindus were converted to Islam in this atmosphere of terror.

Muslims gave shelter to Hindus

But there was no impact of the atmosphere on the common Muslims. Muhata Khan's influence was limited to the Muslims belonging to the rich and the upper class.

According to one historian, Anand Rai Pahalwan, the attack on Majlis Rai is an indication of the class struggle. Common Hindus were tormented because their link with him (Majlis Rai) was based on religion and not money. But a big number of common Muslims would participate in this function and festival. One non-Muslim historian has written that many Muslims gave shelter to innumerable Hindus in their houses till the situation improved.

Muhata Khan tormented Hindus but he did not spare those Muslims who gave assistance to Hindus in any way. There were many Muslims officers, who, while being on key Government posts, had given help to their Hindu colleagues. And when this section of the Muslims became victim of the atrocities of Muhata Khan, they started getting annoyed. The result was that this section sounded the bugle of revolt.

Anarchy gripped the state and one Muslim sardar beheaded Muhata Khan with his sword.

Two liberal Subedars, Abdus Samad and Inayat Khan

After this the Mughal emperor, Mohammed Shah, sent four to five Subedars, one after the other, to Kashmir but no one was able to control anarchy, communalism and uncertain political situation. Ultimately it was left to Subedar Abdus Samad to control the situation in Kashmir. He made a vigorous effort for resettling uprooted Hindus. They were given monetary help from the state exchequer. They were given posts in the government. After his Subedar Barkat Khan too installed many Pandits on high Government posts. This liberal Subedar appointed one scholar Pandit, Mukand Ram Kar, as his chief advisor. After giving him major powers, Barkat Khan started a new chapter of strength and co-existence in Kashmir's history.

During this era there was hegemony of Kashmiri Pandits in the Delhi Mughal court. But despite this whenever Mughal emperors, Muslim Subedars or sardars, were obsessed by bigotry they started massacre of their trusted Hindu friends. There are many instances in support of their discriminatory attitude and cruel activities. The leaders of Kashmiri Pandits, settled in Delhi and Agra, Jairam Bhan, had great influence in Delhi Durbar. Under this influence he worked for the rehabilitation of Kashmiri Hindus and for the education of their children. But one Hindu, being jealous of his influence, lodged a complaint against him in Delhi Durbar. Dubbing him as an enemy of the Muslims, he poisoned the ears of Kamaruddin, a minister of Emperor Mohammed Shah. Pandit Bhan was arrested and killed through deceit. His two sons were also jailed.

Under the instructions from Delhi Durbar the then Subedar of Kashmir, Inayatullah Khan, was asked to confiscate the property of Jairam Bhan in the valley. But Inayatulla alerted Pandit Bhan's brothers before implementing the court

order. As a result of it they were saved and so was saved their property.

During the closing days of the rule of Mohammad Shah the invasion of an Afghan Sardar, Nadir Shah, had its impact on Kashmir too. Subedars of Kashmir refused to accept the leadership of Delhi Durbar. The administration became victim of local groupism and once again Kashmiris were pushed to the abysm of deep darkness.

Kashmir a land of lust and tour in the eyes of Mughal Kings

If an analysis is made on the impact of the rule of the Mughals on Kashmir it is clear that except for Aurangzeb Kashmir remained peaceful under the Mughal reign. During the Mughals people got relief and Kashmiri Hindus lived honourably. Even if these facts are correct, deep probe in the era reveals many other details.

The Mughal emperors would live in Delhi. They would come to Kashmir with their harem for pleasure trips. Kashmir for them was nothing else than a place for pleasure trips.

According to a known scholar and writer, Mr. Vachnesh Tripathi, eras went on changing. The Kashmir which was once famous for its sanctity as a pilgrimage and on whose soil teaching of Sanskrit and fruitful discourses of Sanskrit scholars had given importance in life and which was treated with devotion by Prince Darashikov, the same Kashmir became a spot for pleasure for the Mughal kings. The Shalimar Bagh was known for being a garden where Jehangir and Noor Jahan would give shape to their lust and pleasures. As such Kashmir was turned into a centre for pleasure and luxury and from that very period India's freedom and integrity was jolted.

Mughal kings ruled Kashmir from Delhi through their Subedars. These Subedars had two groups. One was influenced by the religion of "Din Illahi" propounded by Akbar and they allowed the cool breeze of goodwill to blow over the verdant vales of Kashmir. But the other group came under the influence of Akbar's practice of organising programmes for sensuous

delights and "Meena Bazaar" type pleasure outlook. As such they patronised such shameless and uncivilised activities in Kashmir and tormented Hindu women. There is a big question mark on the personality of Akbar because as a secular he patronised both the "Meena Bazaar" and "Din Illahi", two contradictory trends.

Kashmir felt the impact of these two opinions and trends. The result was that while roads were constructed, mosques were built but no one repented over the demolition and destruction of temples and idols by the Muslim sultans. No renovation of temples and shrines was carried out. None promoted ancient culture of Kashmir through schools and there was no system under which a Kashmiri Hindu would remain a Hindu. The eyes of the Mughal rulers remained fixed on the dreams of "Darul Islam" and "Islamic Millat". As a result of it the Hindutva which earlier was being poisoned to death was now being lured to sleep through sweet lullabies.

15

Rebirth of Barbarism

The "sweet" knife used by the Mughal kings for religious conversion was dipped in the poison of Islamic fundamentalism and the Hindu society was crushed under the weight of cruelties and atrocities to bracket them in the long line of converted traitors.

As a result of the policy of the Mughal emperors, who appointed Kashmiri Hindus on key posts, a section of Muslims was born which opposed this policy. During the time of Aurangzeb this section was backed by one Subedar, Iftihar Khan, who opened a new chapter of destruction of Hindus. After the weakening of the Mughal rule, this very section formulated a new strategy under which it invited Ahmed Shah Abdali to conquer Kashmir.

Invitation to a foreign invader

One learns about the Muslim mind from the way Kashmiri Muslims invited and assisted a demon like Ahmed Shah Abdali to assume power in Kashmir which by itself was an act of antiinationalism. Whether Ahmed Shah was cruel or a foreigner, he was basically a Muslim. It was thought proper to seek help from foreign invaders and plunderers for finishing the existence of basic culture and society in Kashmir in order to establish the Muslim hegemony in the state. It resulted in the occupation of throne in Kashmir by Afghan rulers in 1752. And with it began the era of destruction of Kashmiri Hindus. Kashmir remained under the Afghan rule for 164 years. This era saw total destruction of Hindus. Like locusts the Afghans,

reached the verdant and attractive garden of Kashmir. They crushed all the fragrant flowers in this panoramic garden and allowed only the green (Islami) flowers to grow in it. Diversity of the garden was finished.

Plunder of Hindu's wealth

The advent of the rule of Subedar Abdullah Khan Ishq Abbasi, who was appointed by Ahmed Shah Abdali as his first subedar, brought about miseries on people. During his one year rule he crossed all the limits of cruelties. He was adept in amassing wealth. For achieving this aim he made one prominent trader of Srinagar, Mir Maqimkanth, as an accomplice. The two together decided to collect Rs. one crore from the traders. (Rs. one crore of those times is equal to several hundred crores at present). He started summoning big traders and wealthy Hindus who would present themselves with their entire wealth in front of the Subedar. The people of Abdullah Khan would grab the entire property, money and gold. Those Hindus who would resist it, were killed. Such activities of the Subedar created so much terror in Kashmir that Hindus started committing suicide by jumping into the Dal lake. As a result of terrorist attitude of Mir Muqim, terrorised people left Srinagar and settled in other places. Mir Muqim became a toy in the hands of the Subedar and while dancing on his tune got busy in creating terror.

The Subedar and his accomplice sold Hindu lands to the rich Muslims and collected huge amount of money. The houses of Hindus would be set ablaze and their women would be forcibly abducted and included in the harem of the Subedar. In order to protect their honour many Hindu women burnt themselves to death. The same section of the Muslims fully supported the Subedar's inhuman cruel activities, which had assisted Ahmed Shah Abdali in conquering Kashmir. This way within one year Ishq Abbasi collected and looted crores of rupees from the Hindus at sword-point and after handing over power to Abdullah Khan Kabuli he returned to Afghanistan.

Kabuli was not so capable enough to hold the reigns of the

Government. Therefore, two Army officers of Abdali, Abul Hassan and Sukhjeevan Malla, revolted against Kabuli and killed him. After some days' of anarchy and conflict Sukhjeevan Malla himself assumed power.

Brave Sukhjeevan and traitor Bakhtmal

King Sukhjeevan declared himself independent soon after assuming power in Kashmir. After snapping all the ties with Ahmed Shah Abdali he declared an open revolt against him. for eliminating this Hindu king of Kashmir he launched an armed campaign on Kashmir but Abdali was defeated. During the reign of Sukhjeevan both the Hindus and the Muslims lived a life of peace. Different relief operations were carried out and Hindus were given back the land. Trade and agriculture were encouraged and Sukhjeevan appointed Mahanand Dhar as his Prime Minister. The two worked together and contributed to the development of Kashmir without any discrimination.

But the Muslim supporters of Abdali started conspiracies for ousting this Hindu king. These very Muslims again invited Abdali to invade Kashmir. Under the instructions of Abdali one of his senior Army officers, Noor-ud-Din Khan, attacked Kashmir with his troops. King Sukhjeevan Mal fought with vigour but was defeated because one of Hindu officers, Bakhtmal, deceived him and joined hands with Noor-ud-Din. By associating himself with the troops of the enemy this treacherous Bakhtmal was cause of confusion among the soldiers of Sukhjeevan who, with a small group of troops, fought valiantly against the soldiers of Abdali. He killed many Afghans with his sword and everywhere this brave soldier mauled the enemy soldiers. But he was alone.

With the help of Afghans the traitor Bakhtmal surrounded him. But like Abhimanyu he kept on striking with his flashing sword to come out of the siege. After a bitter fight King Sukhjeevan was captured and Bakhtmal took him to Abdali. The eyes of this king, who had carried out development of the state without discrimination, were gouged out with red hot iron rods. The blind king was thrown in the jail where he was

famished to death.

People were so much happy during his reign that after him there is a family proverb "Wakti Sukhjoo" (happy days during the time of Sukhjeevan). After the defeat of this king Kashmir came fully under the Afghan rule.

Destruction of Hindus with their wealth

One Afghan sardar, Lal Mohd. Khan became Subedar of Kashmir in 1766 A.D. He was a landlord but he had succeeded in defeating an earlier subedar to occupy the throne. Kashmiri Hindus could not have any leader after the death of Sukhjeevan Mal and after Pandit Kailash Dhar (Minister) left Kashmir. Taking advantage of this situation Lal Mohd. Khan started ousting and repressing the Pandits. After having learnt that the Pandits had become prosperous and wealthy because of the good work done by Sukhjeevan's two associates, Pandit Kailash Dhar and Pandit Mahanand Dhar, Lal Mohd. Khan thought of annihilating Hindus for grabbing their wealth. It did not take time for him to realise that by perpetrating atrocities on Hindus he would be able to secure support from the Muslims.

In order to have wealth he perpetuated this atmosphere of terror. He destroyed Hindus with their wealth. Historian Mohd. Din Fak has compared the curelties of this heartless ruler to the crusade of suppression. According to him, he needed money for this, which he wanted to extort from Pandits. The result was that he started a crusade of suppression against the Pandits. Plunder, arson and killing of Pandits were done freely. They were being tormented under different pleas.

The influential Hindu leader of Kashmir, Pt. Kailash Dhar, himself acquainted Abdali about the deeds of Lal Mohd. Khan, who had declared himself independent. Abdali appointed Sardar Khurram Khan as Subedar of Kashmir and sent him with the troops. Under the support and guidance of Kailash Dhar Lal Mohd. Khan was defeated and he escaped. Since the new Subedar was lover of luxuries and pleasure the reigns of the Government were in the hands of Kailash Dhar who was the de facto ruler of Kashmir.

But the Muslim society in Kashmir did not tolerate this Hindu ruler. During that time one Muslim Sardar, Mir Faqirullah, son of former Prime Minister, Mir Muqim, revolted against Subedar Khurram Khan, who would run the administration on the direction of Kailash Dhar, and established his control on Sopore area. Kailash Dhar and Subedar Khurram Khan encircled him alongwith his troops and when the fight was going on a strange incident took place. Subedar Khurram Khan sighted a sheep. Being a victim of superstition the Subedar treated it a bad omen and ordered the battle to be stopped. He refused to listen to the arguments of Kailash Dhar and left for Kabul leaving the state at the mercy of Mir Faqirullah. The Mir declared himself as the ruler of Kashmir.

Cruelty committed by Bamba community

Faqirullah was wicked and an intriguer but he was a coward. He was the sworn enemy of Kashmiri Pandits. He would not cherish Pandits progressing on the basis of their calibre. In order to bring about annihilation of Hindus he organised a group of converted Muslims and secured help from a band of warriors, living in the nearby mountain areas, by giving them the temptation of women and wealth. One such community of forest dwellers was that of Bambas who were invited for completing the task of destroying Hindus. These Bambas too were Hindus but had been converted to Islam. Backward sections of Hindus had accepted Islam after they had witnessed discrimination from Hindu landlords, traders and so called top Pandits and this shall remain a dark chapter in the history of Kashmir which deserves condemnation. Insulted by rich Hindus and higher cast Pandits, these Hindus belonging to the backward sections and converted to Islam took to arms against these Pandits out of reaction against injustices perpetrated on them. And people belonging to Bamba community also fall in this category. Their bravery and courage now had started annihilating Hindus.

According to Hassan, Bambas completed their work so successfully that even now people shudder while recalling

cruelties perpetrated on Kashmiri Pandits by Bambas. These Bambas would enter into the houses of Pandits with the advent of dawn and after ransacking their houses and after arresting them they would set ablaze the houses. The arrested people were either killed or converted to Islam. About 2,000 Pandits were converted forcibly to Islam through such ways. A big number of Pandits,was killed. In short the anti-Pandit attitude and cruelties of the Mir and his Bamba soldiers are matchless.

Faqirullah was cruel besides being a coward and dull headed. He ramained in the company of greedy sardars. He would remain drunk. This sardar was fond of wine and women and forgot to look after the problems of the people in his make-believe world of colourful functions and in the tinkling of the ear-rings of the dancers. He almost rejected people under the influence of the sardars.

Islamic imperialism and murder of Kailash Dhar

Kashmir was once again entangled in anarchy and because of the wisdom of Kailash Dhar, his friendly relations with Ahmed Shah Abdali and his successful diplomacy and policies Sardar Khurram Khan became the Subedar of Kashmir again. On both the occasions Kailash Dhar played his part in making Khurram the Subedar of Kashmir. Kailash Dhar used to protect the Kashmiri Hindu society against the demonic clutches of Afghan subedars with his efforts and adroitness. This resulted in fundamentalist Muslim sardars being jealous of him. They thought that without his elimination their Islamic desires would not fructify and started poisoning the ears of Khurram Khan against him.

Subedar Khurram Khan too was a loyal broker of the Islamic world. When Muslim sardars tickled his Islamic bent of mind, the administrative calibre of Kailash Dhar, protection of Kashmir and people's happiness paled into insignificance in front of his bigotry. He had two options before him, the nation and religion and he opted for the latter. He appointed Mir Hassan Khan, a known fundamentalist, as Prime Minister in

place of Kailash Dhar. Mir Hassan was an old enemy of Kailash Dhar. He initiated a conspiracy for eliminating Kailash Dhar.

This attitude of Khurram Khan reveals his political ambition besides lifting the veil from the real intentions of the Muslim sardars. Their ambition was proliferation of Islam and not Kashmir and its people. That is why these Muslims sardars received greater respect than those social leaders who would prove beneficial for Kashmir and its people. And when these sardars utilised their strength in revolts, the same Subedars, who used to patronise them, would flee from Kashmir leaving it in the hands of these cruel sardars. For them Kashmir was a centre for luxury and pleasure. And when the same Kashmir was swept by trouble and turmoil they would leave it throwing it in the flames of religious conversion.

Kailash Dhar too became a victim of this dirty plan and attitude. His old friends, who had progressed because of his efforts, got him killed through an intrigue. Right from the beginning the misfortune of Kashmir has been that nationalist and ptariotic people always have became victim of conspiracies and anti-national forces were rewarded. The trend of ousting nationalists and handing over power to the anti-national elements continues even now.

Invention of different ways of cruelties

In 1776 A.D. Afghan Subedar, Haji Karimdad Khan, occupied the throne of Kashmir with pomp and glory. With the coming of the new Subedar the people of Kashmir felt as relaxed as one feels when the monsoon clouds appear in the sky in mid-summer. But this delight of Kashmiris was shortlived and were battered by miseries and misfortunes when these very clouds emitted flames of lightning, instead of rain, causing ruin in Kashmir.

Haji Karimdad Khan was an expert in devising new ways of torture of people. An expert in terrorism this subedar seemed to people a socialist. Irrespective of caste, sex, status, age and relations all were battered in the mill of destruction. During his reign many ways were devised for recovery of tax and imposi-

tion of fines. Heavy taxes, insults, abduction, rapes, plunder and death punishment became daily routine of life.

Taxes were imposed on different communities and on different trade practices and classes of people. "Zariniyaz" named tax was imposed on big landlords. Similarly "Zariashkash" and "Zari Haibut" taxes were imposed on traders and agriculturists respectively. These taxes were imposed to keep the people in the clutches of the Government. According to historian, Fak, the taxes were so heavy that orchardists felled their fruit trees and sold them as fuel. The entire system of imposing these heavy and illegal taxes and their recovery was organised by one Muslim sardar, Aslam.

Kashmiri Pandits had already been overburdened by these taxes, still Aslam and Karimdad were eager to impose special taxes on Pandits. In this respect a plan had been formulated and Karimdad circulated a rumour blaming Pandits for having murdered Aslam. In reality Aslam had been kept in a secret place under the plan. As this rumour went round in the city Muslim sardars turned violent and in the atmoshpere of communal tension houses of Hindus were looted and later set on fire.

According to Mohd. Din Fak, one day Karimdad hid Aslam and made a pretext that the Pandits were responsible for his murder. This was a signal for the arrest of all prominent Pandits. They were arrested and deprived of all facilities. Not only this : they were locked in a room where they were forced to smell and inhale the smoke of the cow dung. Kailash Dhar's brother, Pandit Prakash Dhar, was also killed. And after agreeing to pay an annual tax of Rs. 50,000 the Pandits were let off. This tax was called "Zari-dud" (smoke-wealth).

Bravery of Dilaram

The above event indicates not only the mental setup of the Subedar but it is also a measuring rod of his activities of atrocities. As a result of these administrative measures agriculture, industry, horticulture and the famous Kashmiri shawl industry were destroyed. While mentioning about the downfall

of the Shawl industry historian Birbal Kachroo, has written that many times taxes were imposed on shawls. Till the time a shawl found its buyer any officer would impose any tax at any time. Traders stopped manufacturing shawls after the actual cost of the shawl registered three-fold increase because of the heavy taxes. Hindu owners of the shawl industry had to suffer because of being Pandits. Karimdad did one right deed by appointing Pandit Dilaram as his Prime Minister. Pt. Dilaram abolished all these illegal and heavy taxes imposed by the Subedar. He provided amenities to shawl manufacturers for carrying out their trade independently. As a result of his efforts the administrative setup was systematised. Though this Pandit Prime Minister reduced the pace of religious conversion, he could not stop it totally.

A Subedar who feels pleasure in others' woes

After Haji Karimdad his son, Azad Khan, became the Subedar of Kashmir and he immediately decided to give new direction and strength to his ancestral practice of exploitation of Hindus. Hassan, while describing his character, has written that the new Subedar, Azad Khan, had been cast in the mould of his father. More than his father, Azad Khan had the thirst for creating new misfortunes and miseries for his people. He was a saddist and would delight in seeing others in misery. And the day he did not get any such opportunity, he would kill a couple of persons to satiate his saddistic tendencies.

Many events took place in his life which made him a cruel ruler. He did not even spare his mother. After accusing her of loose character, she was thrown out of the palace. Similarly he beheaded one of his wives because she had roamed about in the garden for a longer time during one night which delayed her arrival in the Subedar's bedroom. One more incident; the Subedar awarded death penalty to a group of people because they had blocked the passage of the Subedar while passing on a wooden bridge. All these were Hindus who were supervising arrangements for the Shobha yatra.

There was one more pecularity about the character of Subedar Azad Khan. He was, at times, fond of carrying out armed campaigns. He was equally fond of bringing with them slaves from the conquered areas and subject them to torture. Mohd. Din Fak has made a mention of such campaigns of the Subedar.

According to Fak, soon after occupying his father's place Azad Khan invaded the neighbouring Poonch state. He achieved victory but by subjecting people to unlimited cruelties he eclipsed his victory. He plundered the entire Poonch town and indulged in arson for seven days. And after killing Pt. Govind Dhar and other Pandits he returned to Kashmir.

Sacrifice of Pt. Dilaram

Subedar Azand Khan installed former Prime Minister, Pt. Dilaram, as Prime Minister. In the presence of Dilaram in the court, the Subedar would feel easy in handling the court activities. Dilaram was not only a political leader and a Prime Minister for implementing the orders of the Subedar, he was also a clever diplomat. Through his clever manipulation he prevented the Subedar from issuing orders for merciless killings. It was through Dilaram that many public welfare schemes were launched. He also succeeded in keeping under check the demonic instincts of the Subedar.

But this very successful Prime Minister had to become victim of the political greed of the Muslim behaviour. The conspirators became active in eliminating this Hindu Prime Minister who had held the reins of the Government effectively and protected the throne against many controversies. As a result of these intrigues Dilaram had to adopt the path of sacrifice which deprived the people, especially the Hindu society, of the services of a seasoned leader.

Pandits were packed in sacks and drowned in Dal lake

One more cruel Afghan Sardar, Mir Hajjar Khan, occupied the throne of Kashmir in 1772 A.D. He also launched his

bloody campaign for either annihilating Kashmiri Hindus or for converting them to Islam so as to complete the task left unfinished by his forefathers. Kashmir has witnessed one cruel king after another, one heartless sardar after the other and one wicked subedar after the other. But Mir Hajjar Khan was known for his separate identity. He set aside all the previous records in mass destruction of Hindus.

He decided to break all such restrictions on him in the task of subjecting Hindus to cruelties and in forcing them to adopt Islam. First of all he declared independence in order to free Kashmir from the control of Kabul. Conscious of the strength of Mir Hajjar Khan, the Sultan of Kabul, Juman Khan, recognised the independent existence of this Subedar. But he requested the Subedar to continue paying the annual grant. At that stage the Kabul administration was in the grip of severe uncertainty. Therefore, the Mir, turned down the request for payment of annual grant and declared himself as a full fledged king, Mohd. Din Fak has given an account of the inhuman and demonic ways of Mir Hajjar Khan in his book "History of Kashmir".

According to Fak, there was advent of state terrorism in Kashmir. In 1793 A.D. the brother of Pt. Dilaram at Khanyar was its first victim. After that a planned strategy was adopted for the destruction of all Hindus. He packed Kashmiri Pandits in sacks and drowned them in the Dal lake as part of the destruction of the Pandits. Those who survived were so much tormented and tortured that they forgot the cruelties of Faqirullah. Many prominent Pandits of Baramulla were arrested and tormented. And after keeping them in jails they were drowned in the river Jehlum. When he realised that it is foolishness to carry out total destruction of the entire community, he made life of the living Pandits miserable and impossible. Taxes were reimposed on the entire community.

After throwing the Pandits out of the state administration Mir Hajjar Khan issued an order under which Pandits were deprived of learning, studying and speaking the Persian language. The state language was Persian but the local Muslims were incapable and helpless in having enough knowl-

edge of Persian. Pandits were more capable and intellectual because of their community trait. As a result of their being well versed in the language, the Pandits rose to high posts in the state administration. In order to remove Pandits from the administration for good, the Mir imposed ban on Pandits for learning the Persian language. The outcome of this ban was that once again Kashmiri Pandits were forced to become helpless, poor and supportless.

The Kabul ruler, Juman Khan, got worried on learning about the dictatorial deeds of the so called independent ruler of Kashmir. But instead of carrying out any military campaign he sent Sardar Mirza Khan, father of Hajjar Khan, to Kashmir to prevail upon his son to stop all his inhuman deeds. But Hajjar Khan arrested his father and sent him to prison. The father had come to give advice to his son on the need for controlling his demonic and inhuman plans but the result was quite the opposite. The son jailed his father and put the rope in his nose.

Highly hateful deed

There was no other alternative left for the king of Kabul except for launching a military campaign. The troops of Kabul entered into Kashmir under the leadership of a senior Army officer, Ahmed Khan. These troops halted at Baramulla. With his troops Hajjar Khan tried his best to defeat the Kabul troops but because of lack of support from the people of Kashmir he was defeated. Instead of accepting death while fighting, this coward fled from the battlefield and hid himself in the shrine of Shah Hamdan in Srinagar. Kabul soldiers followed him and after arresting him was imprisoned. He was kept in the same cell in which he had kept his father and thus the reunion between the father and the son took place.

The extent of his animosity for Hindus can be gauged by the incident in which he, before marching for the battle at Baramulla, brought out all Pandits from the jails and got each one of them killed and their heads were dragged and kicked to be thrown in river Jehlum. Both Mohd. Din Fak and Birbal Kachroo have given an account of this highly hateful and

inhuman deed. According to them, before starting his armed campaign Hajjar Khan brought out learned and prominent Pandits from the jail, where they were suffering great difficulties, and after awarding death penalty to them, their bodies were thrown in river Jehlum.

Though Hajjar Khan was defeated in the battle and one more Subedar occupied the throne, the course of this change hinted at the coming of still deeper misfortune and turmoil instead of bringing about a healthy atmoshphere.

Assad Khan — the storehouse of cruelty

One officer of the East India Company wrote memoirs after his tour of Kashmir. He made a mention of his experiences in his letters to some of his friends He describes the cruelties of Subedar Assad Khan in the following way. "The cataract in one eye of Assad Khan had placed the surgeons in a dilemma. He had become restless because of the eye problem not getting cured. He had threatened the last surgeon telling him that his abdomin would be cut if his eye was not cured within some days. The surgeon failed in his treatment. Assad Khan implemented his threat". The doctor's abdomin was dissected.

Historians have dubbed Assad Khan as the "mine of cruelty". During his reign learned Hindus belonging to the upper caste were tormented for refusing to accept Islam. They were dragged naked from their houses and after holding them guilty of fictitious charges they would be jailed to rot. And Hindus had only one option left with them for shielding themselves against these cruelties and that was conversion to Islam.

Further step in Barbarism

With the installation of Attah Mohd. Khan as the Subedar of Kashmir in 1807, Kashmir witnessed another era of hateful and inhuman deeds and conspiracies in its history. Taking advantage of political instability in Kabul, Subedar Attah Khan declared himself independent and for satiating his demonic and inhuman hunger he adopted peculiar style. After defeating all

the efforts of the Sultan of Kabul for keeping him under check, Attah Mohd. Khan adopted highly corrupt practices of torturing women.

Inflamed by passions the Subedar launched a campaign for including Kashmiri fairies in his harem. The Hindu women became victim of depravation. Any beautiful Hindu woman sighted by his messengers would be kidnapped. These crying and weeping women would be made a prey of the lust of the Subedar. In order to protect their honour and womanhood thousands of girls committed suicide either by consuming poison, or by jumping into the wells or by stabbing one another. Gopinath Shrivastav has given an account of these atrocities in his book "Kashmir". According to him, Attah Mohd. Khan was such a Subedar that during his reign Kashmiris would shave off the head of their beautiful daughters, they would cut their nose, so that they looked ugly and were saved from the clutches of Attah Khan.

Murder of Pt. Har Dass

The last Afghan Subedar to rule Kashmir in 1813 A.D. was Azim Khan. At that time one Hindu Sardar, Pt. Sehaj Ram, was the Chief Administrator in the state. Prior to his rule, the ruler of Punjab, Ranjit Singh, invaded Kashmir twice but was defeated. The Muslim landlords of Kashmir hatched a conspiracy charging Kashmiri Hindus with inviting Maharaja Ranjit Singh to invade Kashmir. They tried to explain to the Subedar that these Pandits wanted to oust the Muslim ruler and install Maharaja Ranjit Singh in his place. This trick of the landlords and their tale was treated as a challenge for Islam.

The Subedar was taken in by these rumours. The slogans "Islam in Danger" in Kashmir were shouted. Conspiracies were being hatched for forcing Pandits to leave Kashmir after they were dubbed as stooges of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Pandits were teased, their estates were usurped, taxes were imposed on them and they were removed from the Government services. In order to tease, torment and insult them many charges were levelled against them and as such many were forced to adopt

Islam.

One dreaded Sardar, Noorshah Diwani, was entrusted with the task of inciting people against the Hindus, forcing them to adopt Islam and for terrorising them. Pt. Hardas, a prominent Hindu officer, became the first victim of this conspiracy. He was summoned to the court and was killed deceptively. Pandit Sehaj Ram, who was the Chief Administrator, tried his best to change the atmosphere but the slogan of "Islam is in danger", raised by the Muslim sardars, and its powerful propaganda made even the Subedar blind and a bigot.

Loyalty of a Muslim employee

Though the Muslim Subedar emerged victorious during the two invasion of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on Kashmir, he had realised the power of the neighbouring Hindu state. He had also realised that the Maharaja enjoyed the support of Hindus in Kashmir and Kashmiri Hindus could not breathe peacefully and could not perform their religious rites and customs freely. Even their womenfolk were not safe. But in Punjab Maharaja Ranjit Singh had curbed all such activities of the Muslims. And Punjab experienced re-emergence of Hindu nationalism and at that time there was no difference between the Sikhs and the Hindus.

It is a fact that some Kashmiri Pandits had gone to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and there were many Pandits in the administration of the Maharaja. Its impact on the politics of Kashmir was natural. Subedar Ajim Khan was scared of the power and strength of the neighbouring Hindu state. He therefore, stopped massacre of Hindus. But plans continued to be made for killing them deceptively. Noorshah and Subedar Ajim Khan prepared a blueprint of a plan which could serve this purpose without any damage.

The author of "History of Dhar", Krishan Dhar, has written that it was decided that Noorshah would invite Mirza Pandit, brother of Sehaj Ram, and other prominent Pandits to his house and made them sit in the Hamam which would be so hot that they get suffocated. Ajim liked this plan, but he said

the work should be done when he was not present in the city. This unfortunate conspiracy continued for sometime but on the day of the incident a personal attendent of Ajim Khan informed Sehaj Ram about the plan of Noorshah and the Subedar. The servant also informed him that at that very time Noorshah had conveyed the message to the Subedar about the assembly of the Pandits in his house. Under the plan the Subedar had left the city for Shalimar Bagh. Sehaj Ram too ferried to the house of Noorshah and wrote on paper in Kashmiri language "the island on which your house is built has been washed away in floods". This piece of paper was sent to Mirza Pandit through a loyal boatman, Hayat. With that message Hayat stood on the side door of the Hamam. On seeing Hayat, Mirza Pandit could understand that some event was to take place. While trying to set right the wicker of the lamp Hayat passed on the message to Mirza Pandit. He read the message, waited for a minute and then leaving his shawl enquired about the toilet. Under this pretext he escaped alongwith Hayat to meet his brother on the other bank.

Noorshah was highly dismayed over the escape of Mirza Pandit and ordered his trusted men to hunt for Mirza Pandit and get him dead or live. By then Mirza Pandit had gone away from their reach. When Noorshah's men were busy in capturing Pandits, Mirza Pandit's other associates managed to escape. This way the conspiracy of Noorshah and Subedar Ajim Khan failed because of the cleverness and alertness of one of their servants. This patriotic work done by a simple domestic servant clearly indicates that patriotism, nationalism and social work are not a legacy of a particular community.

The patriot was a Muslim servant. The boatman who conveyed the secret message to Mirza Pandit too was a Muslim. It also indicates that a simple and a common Muslim is a nationalist and a patriot. It is the Molvis and the Mullahs and big leaders who convert Muslims into bigots and rebels for their political ends. Thus the slogan of "Islam is in danger" is shouted not for the genuine protection of religion but for playing the political cards. There is no scope for doubting the patriotism of

simple Muslims. The patriotism in young Hayat and domestic servant who performed their duties deserve great welcome.

The next day Sehaj Ram and Mirza Pandit went to meet subedar Ajim Khan who had been out of the city on the day of the incident. The Subedar was amazed on seeing the two alive. Sehaj Ram narrated the details of the incident to the Subedar who felt ashamed and expressed his regrets. Pandit Sehaj Ram informed the Subedar about crores of rupees Noorshah had collected from the people. On hearing about the big loot of Noorshah the Subedar sent Mirza Pandit with a company of soldiers to arrest Noorshah. Mirza Pandit surrounded the house of Noorshah and the entire house was searched, the roof was removed and the entire looted money and ornaments were recovered. Noorshah was arrested but he could not stand the arrest and fainted and died. Thus bravery and loyalty of a simple Muslim employee saved the lives of thousands of scholars.

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Liberation of Kashmir

Kashmiri Hindus did not lose courage despite being victim of atrocities during 500-year barbaric rule of the foreigners. When the Hindu state was established in Punjab, Kashmiri Pandits, through their adroitness and alertness, established contact with Maharaja Ranjit Singh and established Hindu Government in the state. The hero of this work was Birbal Dhar.

The trend of religious conversion, which started with the reign of Shahmir, continued, without any interruption, for 500 years till the rule of the last Afghan ruler, Ajim Khan. The erstwhile Hindu Kashmir was converted to a Muslim state on the strength of the sword. During this era all cruel and destructive means were adopted for destroying the Hindu society but despite these cruel and inhuman measures foreign rulers could not finish the basic society of Kashmir. Kashmiri Pandits, while maintaining their tradition of unique sacrifices, protected the Indian value of life.

Pandits did not accept defeat

The basic nationalist society of Kashmir had become tired while tolerating and facing atrocities upto the last Afghan Subedar's rule. But their mind for struggle was not tired. The major section of the Pandits was still capable of facing this situation with novel style and this section achieved success through their great sacrifice.

The last Subedar, Ajim Khan, felt the need of involving capable Pandits for running the administration systematically after silencing the flames of anarchy and mutual conflict. It is condemnable but a reality that every Muslim ruler in Kashmir fully banked on the calibre and wisdom of Pandits for running the state administration and for fulfilling their political objectives and then destroyed the Pandits, their families and their religion for their political interests.

This Subedar, Ajim Khan, too obediently followed the demonic traditions of his ancestors and entrusted all the powers of the government to Pt. Birbal Dhar, Pt. Sukh Ram and Mirza Pandit. These three Hindu sardars were competent administrators. But the Muslim sardars incited the Subedar against them by levelling baseless charges of embezzlement and misappropriation of Government funds. The Subedar ordered confiscation of the family property of Birbal after levelling false charge of embezzling crores of rupees. With this the Hindu society came under the cloud of misfortune. Ajim Khan gave full freedom to Muslims sardars for annihilating the remaining Pandits.

Pt. Birbal staked his life

Prominent Pandits of Kashmir decided to protect the Hindu society in this situation. A secret meeting was organised for carrying out the sacred duty of protecting their society in the interest of nationalism. Political, religious and social Hindu leaders from the entire state participated in the meeting which was held in the house of Mirza Pandit. Some decisions were taken after a day-long deliberations.

The question pertained not only to Kashmir but to whole of India. The question related not only to the Pandit society of Kashmir but to the misfortune having befallen the entire Hindu society. There was need for resolving this misfortune on the national instead of the regional level. After the deliberation it was decided to approach Maharaja Ranjit Singh for help. The responsibility of meeting the Maharaja was given to the seasoned person like Birbal Dhar.

Support of patriotic Muslims

Faint outlines of this plan became known to the Subedar. He immediately summoned Mirza Pandit and enquired from him about the plan but Mirza Pandit cleverly pacified the Subedar. By then Birbal Pandit had left the house alongwith his son, Raja Kak, in disguise. After halting at Devsar, away from Srinagar, the father and the son left for their onward journey. With the help of the local Muslim society they succeeded in crossing the Pir Panjal. These Muslims performed their duties towards the nation by giving assistance to them and the names of such Muslims will shine in the history of Kashmir.

The Subedar and the Muslim courtiers were highly irked and intrigued by the way Pandit Birbal and his son duped the Subedar and crossed the Pir Panjal with the help of some Muslims. On hearing about it, the Subedar rushed his soldiers who carried out massive search operations in the entire country but by then the arrow was out of the bow.

Those patriotic Maliks who helped Birbal and his son in going out of the state were hunted and killed. Those houses, in which Birbal and his son had stayed, were set ablaze and the family members in those houses were burnt to death alive. Their lands were seized and all Government grant and facilities were stopped in all those villages where Birbal and his son had crossed and stayed. The Subedar called Mirza Pandit for talks and the two discussed the situation. During this discussion Mirza Pandit concealed the plan of Birbal. He told the Subedar that if Birbal was successful in reaching the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he would return to Kashmir with Hindu troops or otherwise go to Haridwar for penance.

It inflamed the Subedar. He was confident that Birbal would be successful in his mission. He was aware of the patriotism of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his faith on Hindutva and his powerful country. The Subedar turned mad with anger and through his dexterity Mirza Pandit weakened all the defence of the Subedar. The Subedar started visualising the fall of the Muslim rule in Kashmir.

Subedar Ajim Khan started grumbling like an insane

animal and whosoever confronted him was killed. When he got wary of all this he ordered that all the women of the family of Birbal Pandit be arrested and brought in front of him. But in this field also he had to face defeat.

Farewell from brave wife

When Pandit Birbal initiated the plan he had visualised such a possible attitude of the Subedar. He had the inkling of his wife and children getting killed and insulted. He had decided to give this sacrifice in the interest of the nation. He had preferred safety of the land of Kashmir, the Indian culture and the Hindu society to the gradual sacrifice of individual families. Before his departure Birbal Pandit had met his wife who bid farewell to him with her tearful eyes and with the assurance that she would never hesitate performing her duties even if she had to undergo severe pains and miseries. While placing her hands in the hands of her husband she had pledged that she would not hesitate embracing death and will not allow any foreigner to touch her body so long she was alive. How emotional farewell would it have been for Birbal when he was confronted by his wife pledging to sacrifice herself for the cause of the nation?

Her son, Raja Kak, too touched his mother's feet for seeking her blessings. She embraced her son knowing fully well that that meeting with her son was the last. She entrusted her son to the care of his father and bid a customary farewell to her husband and son who had to go on a right course of action. Both the son and the father left the house with their chin up and the brave husband saw his brave wife the last time and the son waved his hand to his mother. The brave mother went inside the temple for prayer. She worshipped both Shiva and his trident and her daughter-in-law, wife of Raja Kak, too joined her in her prayers.

Patriotism of Qadis Khan and Pandit Bassa Ram

Prior to his departure, Birbal Pandit had entrusted the task of protection of his family to one of his trusted Muslim

associates, Qadis Khan Gojwari. Therefore, both the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law, went to the house of Qadis Khan.

The soldiers of Ajim Khan launched a massive hunt for the two women but Qadis Khan had made elaborate arrangements for their security and the two women were made part of the family in order to prevent any suspicion from taking shape.

One Hindu, Pandit Bassa Ram, knew about the whereabouts of the two women. He had left the two women in the house of Qadis Khan. Bassa Ram was a close frined of Birbal Pandit. Subedar Ajim Khan learnt about the whereabouts of Bassa Ram who was arrested and brought to the Subedar. The Subedar gave him the allurements of estates, gold and top post in the Government but the strong-willed Pandit refused to divulge anything. The Subedar ordered that the Pandit should be tortured. For nine days he was kept hungry and was subjected to torture. His flesh was peeled off with hot iron rods. His eyes were gouged out and for each of these nine days he was fined Rs. 9,000. But when he refused to open his mouth despite undergoing all these ordeals and tortures, on the 10th day his belly was ripped open with red hot sword and this way Bassa Ram Kak achieved martyrdom on the altar of the nation.

Immortal Sacrifice

Subedar Azam Khan made all possible efforts to search out these two ladies but it was of no avail. Kadiskhan spared no efforts to hide them. It was destined that these two women would sacrifice their lives for Kashmir. This news reached Subedar through one of the trusted friends of Kadiskhan because of his selfishness and anti-national bent of mind. Whether this friend of Kadiskhan was Hindu or Muslim is not known from any historical source. It may be due to this fact that a traitor is to be condemned everywhere. The house was besieged by Kadiskhan because of the news of this hated person. Kadiskhan tried his best to hide these ladies but he was killed by Subedar's Soldiers. Both the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law were arrested.

While these ladies were being taken by Subedar's Sol-

diers, the mother-in-law swallowed one diamond, she was having round her throat but the daughter-in-law could not do so. When both of them were brought before Subedar, the wife of Birbal looked at Azamkhan with contemptuous eyes and said bravely, "The reign of terror leashed against the Kashmiri Pandits will end and the rule of the Afghans will collapse. My husband and son have reached Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Darbar". She died before she could conclude her talk. She fulfilled her promise and did not allow any person to come bear her while she lived. Azamkhan was very much sad.

But Pandit Birbal's daughter-in-law and the wife of Raja Kak was sent to Kabul through one Afghan Subedar. There is a lot of difference between these two cultures. The students of history know when the Maratha soldiers defeated a Muslim Subedar at Kalyan near Pune, the weapons, artillery and the fort of the Subedar fell into the hands of the Marathas. The Maratha soldiers presented the young daughter-in-law of Muslim Subedar before Shivaji. Shivaji reprimanded his soldiers and asked them not to repeat such a type of action in future. Then, he addressed Subedar's daughter-in-law as "Mother" and offered her golden ornaments and sent her back to Subedar. Here lies the difference between these two cultures.

Father and son reached the destination

Pandit Birbal Dhar and his son, Raja Kak, were marching towards their destination carefully after surmounting many hurdles in the way. As a result of their strong faith in their objective they could secure assistance of many in the way. Many more Hindus from Kashmir followed Pandit Birbal. All these Hindus were successful in reaching the court of Maharaja Gulab Singh in Jammu. Maharaja Gulab Singh gave a letter for Raja Dhian Singh, Prime Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and made arrangements for their trip to Lahore. On reaching Lahore, Raja Dhian Singh made arrangements for their meeting with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Pandit Birbal narrated the entire story to the Maharaja. He influenced the Maharaja with his oratory and learning.

The Maharaja listened to Birbal attentively. He was dismayed over the misfortune on Hindutva and Indianness in Kashmir. He felt that the entire problem should be viewed in the national context. He was a true Sikh who recalled the sacrifice of Guru Teg Bahadur. The picture of young children of Shri Gobind Singh being embedded in the wall loomed large in front of his eyes. He could see the severed head of Hakikat. After discussing the matter with his associates the Maharaja immediately ordered that the troops be kept ready. He suggested to Birbal to remain with the Army officers for acquainting them with the topography of the state. Pandit Birbal accepted all the conditions and kept his son in the Lahore court as a pawn.

When Subedar of Kashmir, Ajim Khan learnt about it and about the ensuing invasion of Kashmir by the Sikh soldiers, he felt scared. He felt he would be asked to give an account of all his evil deeds. He was so terrified that he sent his harem, his entire gold and wealth to Kabul under the supervision of Sehaj Ram. After some days he also left Kashmir and handed over power to his brother, Jabbar Khan. Even while fleeing Kashmir Ajim Khan committed condemnable act of taking a wealthy Pandit, Suraj Tikoo, with him so that he could grab his wealth. But when he could not lay his hand on anything the Subedar killed Suraj Tikoo near Baramulla.

Victory campaign of Sikh soldiers

Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent his five top and brave Army commanders alongwith 30,000 soldiers to Kashmir under the guidance of Pandit Birbal. Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, and other powerful Army officers including Hari Singh Nalwa, Jwala Singh, Hukum Singh and Shyam Singh uprooted the troops of Jabbar Khan with their might. Jabbar Khan took to his heels. The Sikh soldiers emerged victorious and this way brought about an end of the Afghan rule. On June 20, 1819 A.D. Pandit Birbal entered with Sikh soldiers into Kashmir as a victor. Even the Muslim historians have praised the contribution of Pandit Birbal.

According to Mohd. Din Fak, Pandit Birbal was a person of bright character. In his view any great sacrifice was much too small for any noble cause. He was not perturbed even by the suicide of his loyal wife, abduction and forcible conversion of his daughter-in-law and by the merciless killings of his friends and relations. He kept on marching with determination on his path so that he could throw out the Afghans from his country. But in the hour of his triumph he did not forget his Muslim countrymen and his duty. The Sikhs wanted to loot the city but he came in their way. And when Phool Singh started demolishing the sacred shrine of Shah Hamdan, Pandit Birbal, without caring for his safety, told Phool Singh that the history will condemn him for his evil deed. This deed of Birbal is sufficient to make him immortal. He is a symbol of innate qualities of Pandits and of their permanent strength to fight the onslaughts of time.

A question worth consideration

The character of Pandit Birbal reveals that if a single person desires, he can change the course of history. Success is assured if one remains above self-interest and works with dedication and determination during the hour of national crisis. The role played by Pandit Birbal and his son for finishing the cruel rulers of Kashmir has its background in the encouragement of two great women who lost and sacrificed everything for completing the national task.

Had Pandit Birbal desired he would have sought revenge after his victory. He could have avenged the destruction of temples and educational institutions during the last 500 years from mosques and tombs. He could have reconverted those who had been forced to adopt Islam but as a greatman he did nothing like this.

In the context of the current problem in Kashmir it is worth consideration and debate whether Pandit Birbal should have destroyed all the foreigners on Kashmir and all their signs with his sword under the "tit for tat" policy in consonance with the requirements of history, political wisdom and in order to caution foreign powers in the future.

Temples echoed with the sound of Arti (prayer)

After conquering Kashmir, the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh lasted for 27 years. During this period 10 Governors were appointed in Kashmir. The Government policies were liberal and the victimisation and suppression of Hindus by Muslims had stopped. Muslim landlords, who would commit atrocities daily, took to their heels and the women folk used to live and roam about honourably and freely. Bells in the temples started ringing and the tunes of Arti reverberated in the temples and it seemd as if the golden age had dawned again.

But with the advent of this era no such system and practices were adopted which could have given a permanent and stable shape to this era. It was never thought that this era would end some day and result in the same age of darkness. After achieving freedom from 500-year long slavery no attempt was made to link the state with its ancient foundation. No plan was formulated for the renovation of the ruined temples and the centres of culture, education and spiritualism. There was no possibility of starting activities in order to strengthen nationalism because by this time the British had established their foothold in rest of the country.

Maharaja Gulab Singh

During his lifetime, Maharaja Ranjit Singh had appointed Gulab Singh as the ruler of this state. But in 1846 under the Amritsar Agreement, which was forged after the battle between the Sikhs and the British, the Britishers secured penalty for the Sikh-British war from Gulab Singh even after recognising him as the ruler of Kashmir. One British agent was appointed in Kashmir. In Reality the Britishers established their control over Gulab Singh through the Agent.

Chivalry of Gen. Zorawar Singh

Gulab Singh converted Jammu and Kashmir to a strong state by uniting small states with the help of his military missions and political influence. Through the efforts of Gen.

Zorawar Singh, well adept in mountain warfare, Gulab Singh annexed Ladakh. This brave Gen. Zorawar Singh attained martyrdom while fighting the war in the mountain region of Ladakh. Famous historian, K.M. Pannikar, has praised his troop command and war tactics. He has written that it is most amazing to see him carry the soldiers to the heights of 15000 ft. above the sea level in Ladakh and Baltistan's snow covered cliffs where it is difficult for the people from the plains to live because of paucity of oxygen. Carrying the troops to these heights more than six times and launching one attack after the other for conquering the state in order to establish peace is unique and matchless in the history of India. His greatness as a great soldier will shine in the pages of the history of India.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh

After Gulab Singh his son, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, occupied the throne of Jammu and Kashmir. People remember him as an ideal Hindu king because of his interest in Hindutav, Sanskrit and the Indian culture. He opened many centres for the teaching and study of Sanskrit, built libraries and made efforts for re-establishing the values of Hindu life. Under the guidance of this Maharaja a Dharmarth Trust was set up for the construction of many temples. As a result of these efforts a wave of Hindutav swept the state. The Hindu society too started to get up and the people of Kashmir became impatient in restoring to the state its ancient glory.

Antinational crime of Pandits

The impact of the wave of Hindutva was so powerful that even the converted people started making up their mind for adopting the religion of their ancestors. Muslims from Poonch and Rajouri and some from the Kashmir valley assembled and appealed to the court of Maharaja Ranbir Singh praying that they be accepted in their basic Hindu religion. It can be treated a misfortune for the country that some contractors of religion always tried to create hurdles. When the Maharaja asked the Pandits about the reconversion of their relations, the Pandits

clearly refused to accept them back in Hindu religion. These very Pandits had not allowed Rinchan to adopt Hindu religion which led to the trampling of Kashmir under the feet of Muslim rulers for 500 years. And when the Muslims expressed their wish to return to the Hindu religion, these very Pandits created obstacles because of their narrow outlook.

Had the Maharaja himself declared the converted people as Hindus, the problem would have ended for ever. History can never forgive the Pandits for this antinational work.

When Raja Pratap Singh succeeded Maharaja Ranbir Singh, he had to face opposition from his younger brother, Amar Singh. Amar Singh had challenged the occupation of the throne by Pratap Singh. The British Government assisted Maharaja Pratap Singh and this way it further strengthened its foothold in the state. The British Government appointed political Agents in Srinagar, Leh and Gilgit.

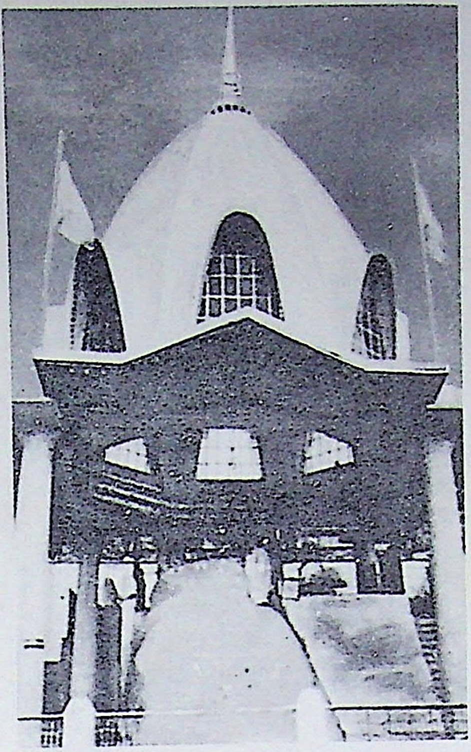
A British Parliamentarian, William Digwe, had given an account of the political powers of these agents. He has written that the powers of the Resident have been supreme and the fact is that one cannot do anything without written orders from him. His wish is law, he is a ruler. He has allowed himself to be surrounded by sycophants and friends and has ousted old and loyal servants of the Government. No one, in that country, can open one's mouth and in case any weakling raises a voice of protest, he is warned of dire consequences.

Maharaja Hari Singh stood for complete independence

Maharaja Hari Singh ascended the throne of Kashmir after Maharaja Pratap Singh. On assuming the throne this young ruler brought about many constitutional reforms in the state. Having been baptised in the Indian culture, Hindutav etc the Maharaja was a nationalist. His patriotism is testified by the way he supported total independence for India as a representative of the Chamber of Princess in the roundtable conference in London in 1931. The Maharaja said candidly "It is the first occasion when the Indian princes have come to

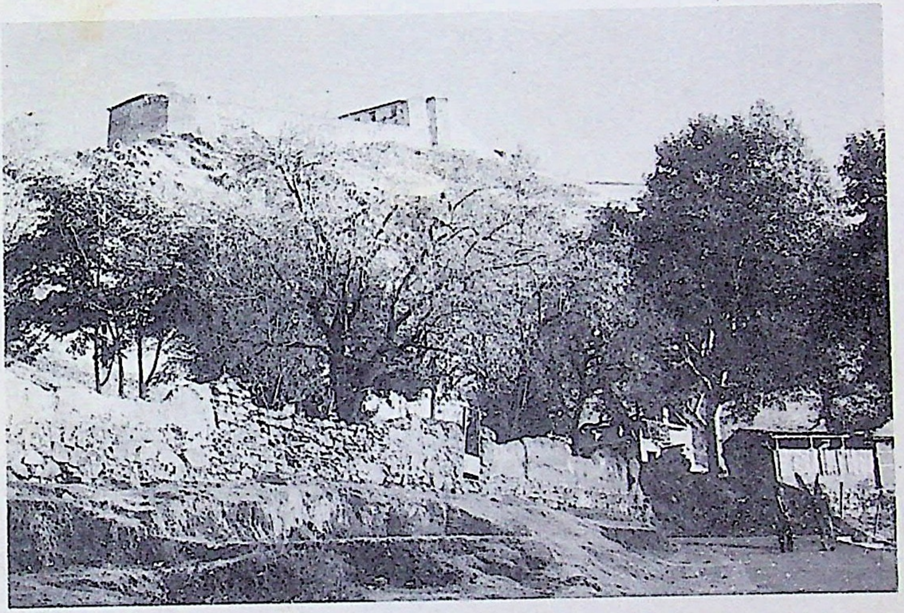
discuss the political future of India with the representatives of the British Government and the British India. As Indians we want our motherland to enjoy a place of honour and equality in the British Union".

For the first time in the British rule in India that a ruler of a state had raised the question of India's independence with determination. The British Government was alerted. Feeling that patriotism of Hari Singh may come in the way of their scheme, the Britishers started hatching conspiracies for creating an atmosphere of opposition for the Maharaja. They thought of projecting a Kashmiri leader as a British "stooge" and the then Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, projected Sheikh Abdullah in the guise of the "stooge" through Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.



←HARI PARVAT
Goddess Sharika's shrine at Srinagar. Also known as 'SIDHA PEETH'

↓ HARI PARVAT FORT
A Temple of Mata Kali in the fort attracts devotees.





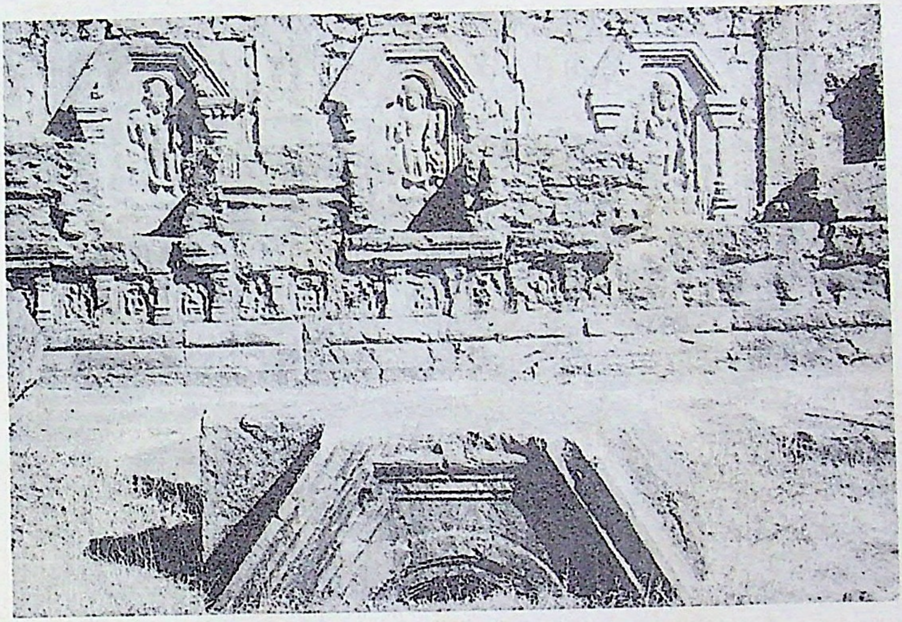
← PANDRETHAN
'Puranadhishthan' - The original name of the temple. The temple falls in Srinagar city.



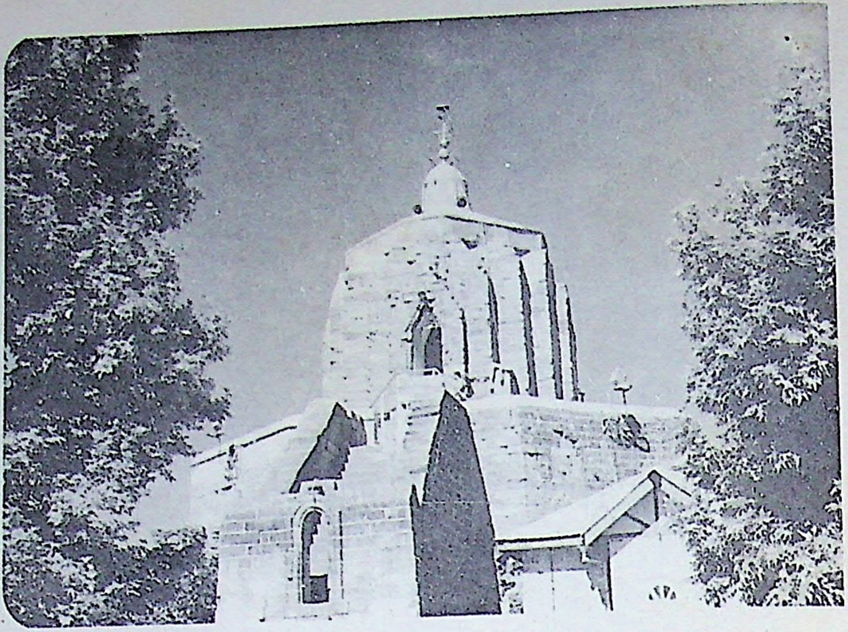
STONE ENGRAVING →
At Avantipur



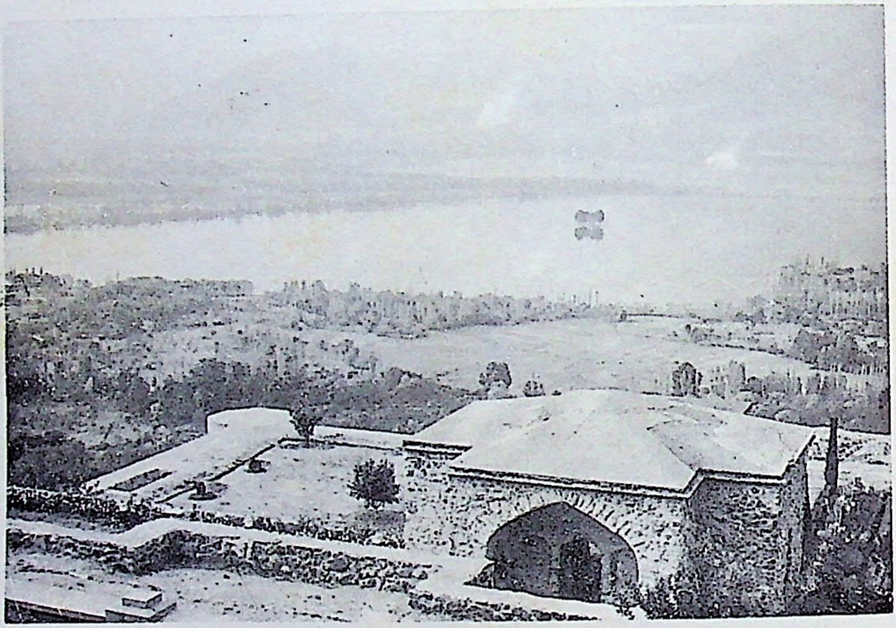
RUINS AT AVANTIPUR
Once Palace of Avantivarman, a great emperor of Kashmir.



Dancing Deities in a temple in Avantipur



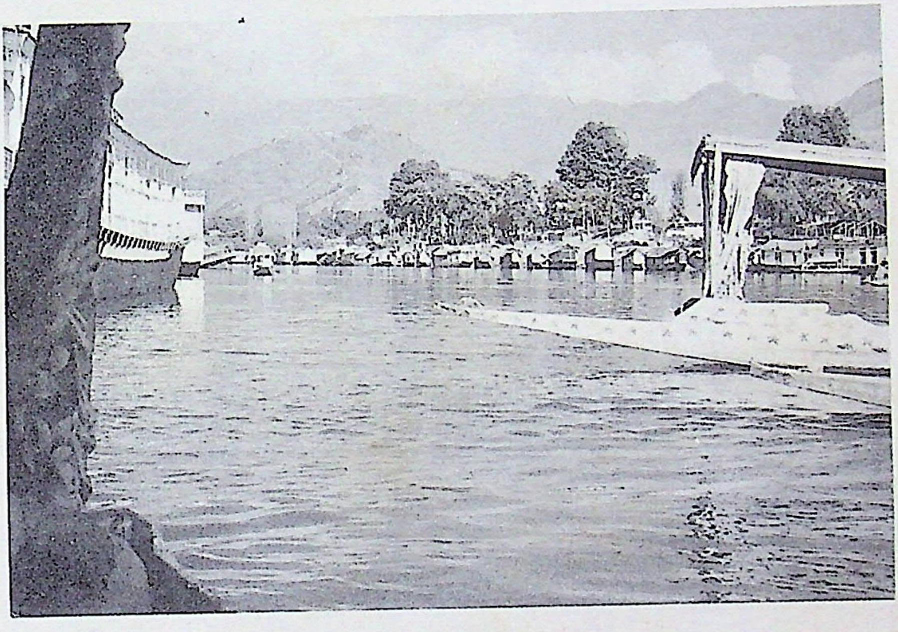
SHANKERACHARYA TEMPLE : Situated on the top of a hill in Srinagar.



A SCENE OF DAL LAKE FROM PARI MAHAL
Dara Shikoh of Mugal Dynasty had come to this place to complete his works on Upnishadas.



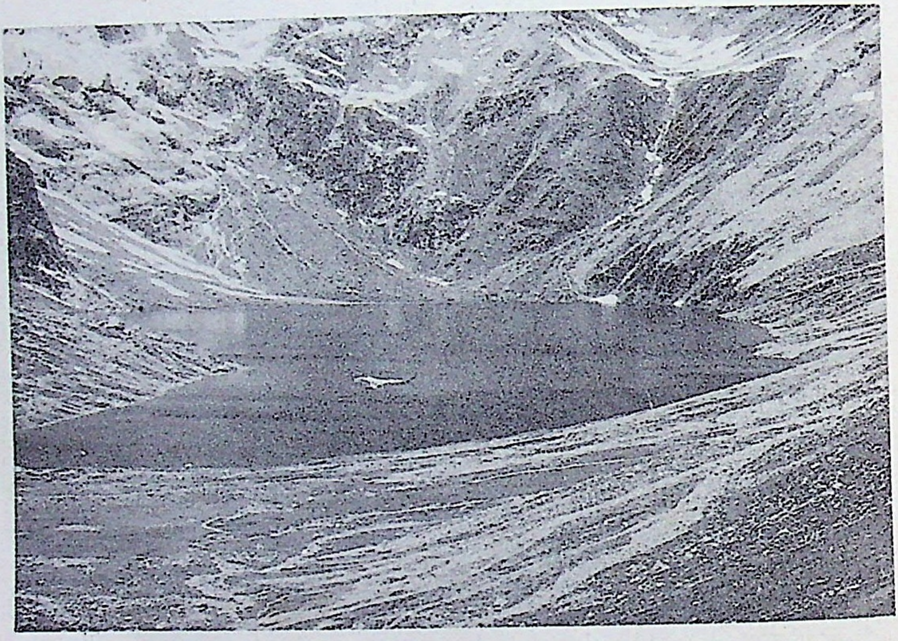
KHIR BHAWANI
A Seat of Goddess Ragya, this famous shrine draws devotees on every 8th day of full Moon fortnight.



HOUSE BOATS IN DAL LAKE
Shankaracharya Hill can be seen in the background.



VITASTA (RIVER JEHLUM)
The life line of Kashmir's cultural heritage.



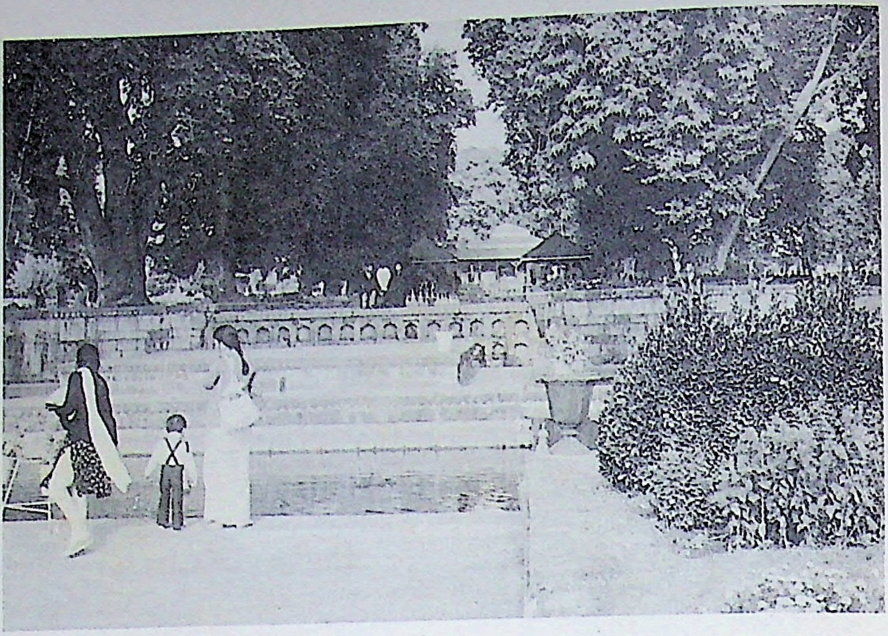
VISHNU SAR
A beautiful lake sandwiched between
high mountain peaks at an attitude of 10000 ft.



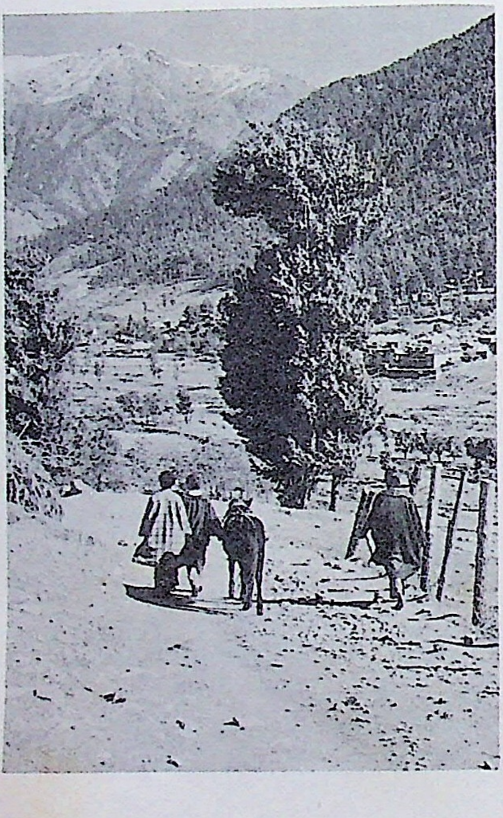
↑ A KASHMIRI FAMILY
A style in itself.



- Women at work in a village of Kashmir.



↑ SHALIMAR BAGH
A famous Mugal Garden of Srinagar.



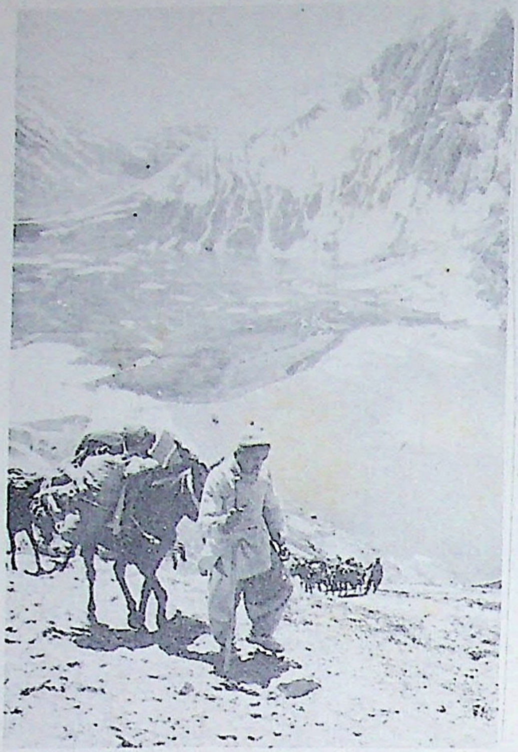
← PAHALGAM
A tourist and a health resort of South Kashmir.



BURZAHAMA ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY CENTRE



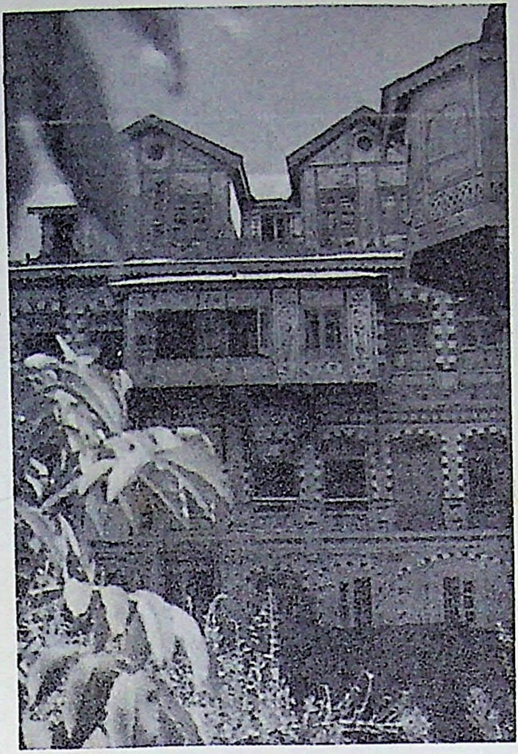
PARISHPUR RUINS
The capital city of Emperor Lalitaditya's Kingdom.



← GANGA BAL
& HARMUKH PEAK
A famous pilgrimage and a tourist attraction.

↓ GARUDSAR
A big lake in the Himalayan range.





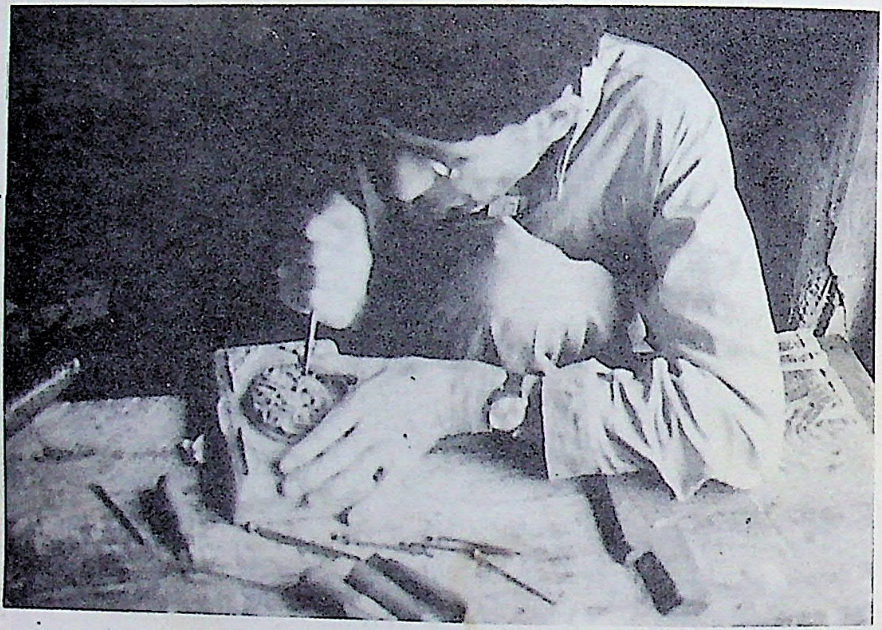
A KASHMIRI HOUSE
It depicts the style of early 20th Century architecture of Kashmir.



A SHOPKEEPER
Handmade items such as baskets, woodspoons etc. Catch an eye of a Visiting tourist.



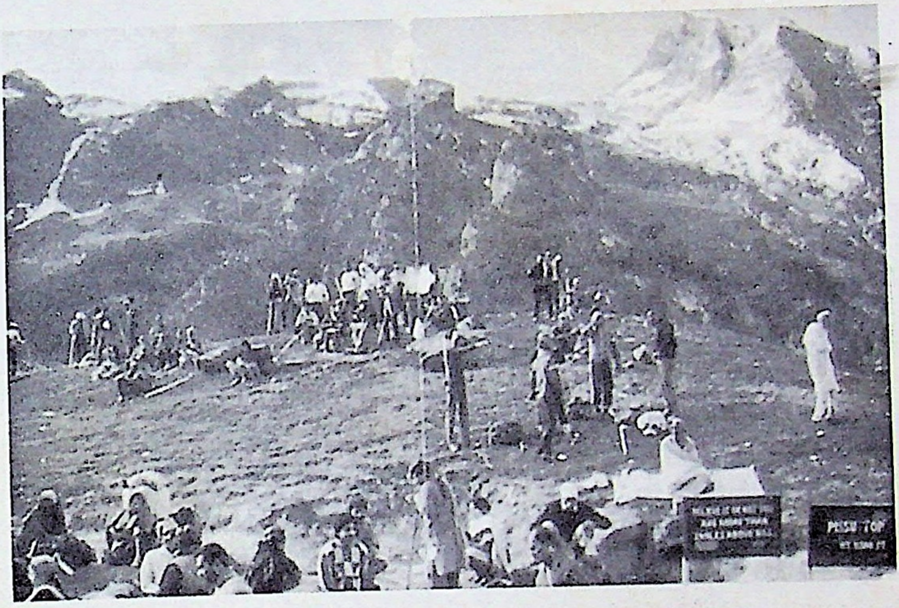
← SHAH HAMDAN MOSQUE
A 14th Century Converted Shrine of Goddess Kali. Sayed Ali Hamdani had come from Hamdan (Iran), in whose name the shrine was converted.



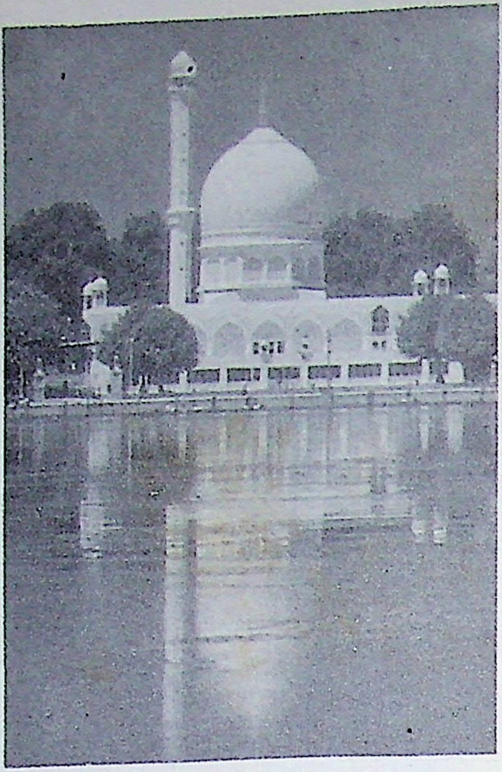
WALNUT WOODWORK



SHESHNAG LAKE



WAY TO AMARNATH
Pilgrims at a resting point on their way to Holy Amar Nath.



← **HAZRATBAL SHRINE**
The Holy relic of Prophet Mohammed is kept in this shrine at Srinagar.

↓ **MAQDOOM SAHEB**
A beautiful mosque at Srinagar.





← **BUDDHA'S TEMPLE**
Kashmir was instrumental in spreading the message of Lord Buddha to China, Tibet and Central Asia.

SAMAVER
A Popular Kettle used in Kashmir for preparing and serving tea.





MILITARIZATION OF PRO-ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM
A new phase of historical blunders.



NET RESULTS OF TERRORISM
Gross Violation of Human Rights.

PART-3

ERA OF BLUNDERS

17

The Rise of Sheikh Abdullah as the British Agent

In order to perpetuate their rule on vast India the Britishers made two matters as the foundation of their entire political activities. First was the "divide and rule" diplomacy which was given constitutional recognition. Secondly, an arrangement for able agents and stooges for implementing the same principle in the political setup conveniently. The principle of "divide" through caste-based political process and reservation received patronage from the Government and in the garb of social reforms an army of the British agents and sycophants was raised through establishment of many institutions.

The rulers of the Indian states too played their role in strengthening the second political base. These rulers of the Indian states neither dared nor thought it proper to oppose the foreign power because they remained busy in their entertainment. The freedom struggle of 1857 was a revolt when the Britishers had not strengthened their foothold. Therefore, the Britishers gave importance to the individual ego of the rulers and never tried to interfere in their world of pleasure. That is why the British Government remained unperturbed from their side and it kept on using them as the base for its stability.

One nationalist ruler

But the British Government was jolted when Kashmir's ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, talked about India's independence in the capacity of the Chairman of the Chamber of Princes during the roundtable conference in London in 1931. Such a talk from the head of the Chamber of Princes was politically a challenge. Those very days the pace of the freedom movement and partition of India were getting sharper. The Muslim League was playing its political cards and the League had the blessings of Lord Mountbatten.

Kashmir was a Muslim majority state and the Maharaja had, by talking in terms of complete independence, struck the caste-based politics announced by the Britishers. Getting angry and alert following the unhelpful attitude of the Maharaja, the viceroy, Lord Mountbetten, started looking for a suitable British Agent in Kashmir. There was need for preparing the Muslim society against the Hindu Maharaj and for diluting the popularity of the Maharaja, for shaking his political base and finally for finishing his existence. For this it was necessary to plant an influential Muslim leader. Therefore, for realising this objective Lord Mountbetten thought the emerging young Muslim, Skeikh Abdullah, as the suitable person and backed him up.

Communalism of Sheikh Abdullah

Sheikh Abdullah was the product of that Aligarh Muslim University which had produced many leaders for assisting the Indian Muslim society in adopting the path of separatism. The founders of the "isms" of Muslim nationalism, Muslim fundamentalism and creation of Pakistan were produced from the same university. Sheikh Abdullah had received M.Sc. degree from the university and was appointed a science teacher in Government High School, Srinagar. From this very place he started his political activities.

In order to establish his political base in Kashmir the Sheikh decided to collect and incite Muslim youths against the Maharaja. He gave up his service to intensify his political

activities. However, Dr. Gori Nath Rastogi has, in his book "Our Kashmir", written that the Sheikh was sacked because of immoral behaviour. He had already received, as a gift from the Aligarh Muslim University, the seeds of communalism in his mind and the sacking from the services further inflamed him. His mind was inflammed with hatred against the Maharaja and he started plans for promoting religious passions. The British diplomacy had the need for such a person in Jammu and Kashmir.

Sheikh Abdullah started encouraging communalism openly. He launched a movement on the basis of the demand for Government posts for the Muslims, their share in the administration and religious freedom. Inflammatory speeches from mosques began communalising the entire atmosphere. The Sheikh also succeeded in giving Islamic hue to the entire movement. How was this dye ? Gopinath Shrivastav has given information about this dye in his book "Kashmir".

According to Shrivastav, one Abdul Qadir, a Muslim cook, had come to Kashmir with a European traveller. He too jumped into the movement and on June 21,1931 he delivered an anti-Government speech at a function organised at Shah Hamdan. It resulted in his arrest and trial. The hearing of the trial was going on in the central Jail, Srinagar, when four to five thousand people assembled outside the Jail and attacked the Jail gates. Their demand was withdrawal of the case against Abdul Qadir. The crowd tore the fence, jail inmates got incited and the police opened fire in which 21 persons were killed. Their bodies were carried in a procession and the entire city was gripped by communal tension. Shops of Hindus were looted and three Hindus were killed. The good relations between the Hindus and the Muslims were snapped. The Maharaja set up a committee under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice to enquire into the police firing. The Muslims boycotted the committee. This way Sheikh Abdullah started emerging as a Muslim leader and started getting the base for revolting against the Maharaja.

Sheikh planned riots during Maharaja's birthday

It was Maharaja's birthday on September 24, 1932. The entire city of Srinagar had been decorated. Muslims too were making preparations for celebrating the Maharaja's birthday. The Sheikh did not like all this. His political existence had been endangered by the way the Muslims had assmebled in support of the Maharaja. He, therefore, decided to create hurdles in these celebrations and in generating tension. Two days earlier the Shoba Yatra was stoned, as per the plan. The result was that the entire city was rocked by communalism. The workers of the Muslim Reading Room, a party formed by the Sheikh, supervised the plan. The houses of Hindus were looted and a crowd surrounded the house of Jia Lal Kilam and stoned and ransacked it. The entire attention of the Maharaja and the administration was diverted towards the law and order of the city. The Army was deployed in Mirpur and other riot affected areas. This way the Sheikh succeeded in disrupting the birthday celebrations.

Muslim Conference, a platform for antinational activities

In this atmosphere of Muslim bigotry Sheikh Abdullah became the sole leader of the Muslims. The Sheikh and his colleagues organised Kashmir Muslim Conference Party. A three-day convention of the Conference was held under the chairmanship of Sheikh Abdullah from October 14, 1932. The aim of the resolution adopted at the convention was to incite the Muslim society on the basis of religion and force ouster of the Hindu Maharaja in order to establish Islamic rule. Dr H.L. Saxena has given an account of this convention in his book "The Tragedy of Kashmir".

According to Dr. Saxena, one important aspect of this convention was that neither the President, Sheikh Abdullah, nor any other person spoke a word about the atrocities on Hindus in Srinagar and Mirpur. Instead a demand was made

for withdrawing the Army from these places which could ensure the annihilation of Hindus and Sikhs. The speeches delivered at the convention further communalised the atmosphere in the entire state. Sheikh Abdullah went to some area in Punjab where he hid himself to evade arrest. The Sheikh, who had left the workers of his party, Muslim Conference, in the current, returned to Kashmir after one month when the atmosphere was calm.

Again the Sheikh started inciting Muslim youths, organised processions and demonstrations and delivered fiery speeches in mosques for inflamming their mind with religious zeal. The situation was again disturbed. Communal riots took place. When the Maharaja tried to enlighten the Sheikh through the Home Minister, Wajahat Hussain, and the British representative in Kashmir, colonel Colvin, Sheikh Abdullah attempted to conceal facts to keep them in darkenss. Wajahat Hussain suggested to the Maharaja to order immediate arrest of the Sheikh. Again the Sheikh escaped after getting the reports of his arrest orders in advance. This time he spent four months in Lahore and other places.

After his return the Sheikh again remained busy in communal activities for achieving his goal. As a result of his activities the Muslim society of the State had, by now, become anti-Maharaja. Sheikh Abdullah was now an influential Muslim leader.

Sheikh, a British Agent

In order to utilise the Sheikh in the form of a British Agent the British Government found the opportune time for converting him into a British "stooge". The Sheikh himself wanted to seek blessings of the British Government and the support from a prominent Congress leader for making his campaign and movement a success. His both the wishes were fulfilled by Lord Mountbatten and Jawaharlal Nehru respectively.

A prominent weekly of Bombay, Blitz, in its April 24, 1964 issue published a comprehensive article in which Sheikh Abdullah has been dubbed as a British Agent. In the article,

original documents in the form of secret correspondence and letters have been published exposing the antinational activities of the Sheikh. Dr. H.L. Saxena has published the entire article of "Blitz" in his book "The Tragedy of Kashmir". The documents published in Blitz have lifted the thick veil from the initial political life of Sheikh Abdullah. These documents indicate that he had started his political career under the protection and assistance of the British Government. What has the Blitz to say :

"Bombay : Blitz is now in possession of a mass of sensational and scalding documents which lift the heavy veil covering the early political career of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah.

On studying them, we are staggered at the amount of evidence-mostly in Abdullah's own language—which could lead to the following conclusion that :

Sheikh Abdullah began his political career in collusion with and with the full patronage of the political service of the then British Government of India.

It is common knowledge that the Anglo-Indian Political Service was mainly the machine of Intelligence Agents. British and Indian—specially trained and recruited by British Imperialism to keep India enslaved.

These documents came in our possession on the eve of the Sheikh's departure to Saudi Arabia for his professed Haj pilgrimage. We decided to await his return home before we published them, so as to offer him an opportunity to deny their authenticity and clear his name.

Treacherous

The treacherous tale of Abdullah's exploits with the national enemies during this period is now too notorious to need repetition.

Apart from playing objectively the role of a Pakistani agent, Abdullah transgressed the limits of national loyalty by seeking a secret confabulation with Chou-En-lai and by accepting an invitation to visit Peking—the capital of the invaders of India.

He also tried to throw dust in the eyes of our friends and allies in the Arabic and Islamic countries by posing as a crusader for democracy, self-determination and what not.

Under these circumstances, it is a matter of Privilege and National duty for all Indians to expose the career of this opportunist who now wants to dismember the Union by engineering the secession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with the open and unashamed assistance of the known enemies and aggressors, Pakistan and China.

Indictment

On the basis of these documents which are published for the first time today, we level a four count indictment against Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as under :

1. That Sheikh Mohammd Abdullah, M.Sc. (Aligarh) contacted sometime in 1953 Sir B.J.Glancy, then Political Secretary to the then Government of India and head of the British Intelligence Service, otherwise known as the Political Service, and offered his services to the British Raj.
2. That the said Glancy, ICS, passed him on, after checking on his antecedents, to one Lt. colonel L.E. Lang, CIE, MC, a high ranking officer of the British Intelligence, who was then posted as the British Political Agent in Srinagar.
3. That the course of his work as a willing collaborator of the enslavers of India, Abdullah received and carried out orders, instructions and wishes of one Col. C.W. Colvin, another member of the British Intelligence, who then acted as the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.
4. That Abdullah knowingly acted as an agent of the British Intelligence to rouse communal passions of Kashmiri Muslims with a view to fighting the rising tide of Indian nationalism.

Turning point

Now let us present the evidence which takes us back to the turning point in national history. Sheikh Abdullah contacted

Glancy some time in 1935. It is important to bear in mind the political situation in the country at that time. Between 1930 and 1934, our people had unitedly waged two satyagrah battles and faced incredibly brutal repression at the hands of the British. The nation was getting ready for one more battle to assert its independence.

However, the most crucial development from the British viewpoint concerned the new awakening of the Pathans, the Baluchis, the Kashmiris and the West Punjabis. These were dominated Muslims who had been kept in reserve by the British to divide and tear the national movement apart. By 1935, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khan Abdus Samad Khan Baluchi had won them over for the national independence of a united India.

The national spirit had made a deep impact in Kashmir which was strategically the most important outpost of British Imperialism in Central Asia. The Gilgit military base, only a few miles from the Soviet border, had become all important. The British Intelligence service at that time was in desperate need of agents who could rouse Muslim communal passions in Kashmir against the national spirit and weaken the national movement.

Abdullah was then a school teacher who had just returned from the Aligarh University — a hotbed of communal separatists and the most favourable recruiting centre for British agents among opportunist, self-seeking Muslim middle class, antinational elements.

It was the British Intelligence which made the first move to recruit Sheikh Abdullah. The initiative was taken by Abdullah himself.

Glancy and Abdullah

How and in what manner Abdullah contacted the alien rulers is a tale still shrouded in mystery. However, it can be stated that he offered his services to the British in a letter dated December 6, 1935, addressed to Glancy. On December 17, 1935, Glancy accepted Abdullah's offer and wrote to him the following letter.

"My dear Mr Abdullah,

With reference to your letter dated 6th December, 1935, I may say that it is conceivable that there in that state, should be a development to retain work of politics as there are means to preserve the British aim.

The recent information regarding Mr. Lal indicates a tendency towards the point, yet it seems necessary that unless an immediate change in the plan is not made, his removal seems impossible. Apart from the alterations the proposal will remain as originally stated, and as I understand from the various concerns, the proposal in search of his removal will be attempted in near future, Col. Colvin's report assures that prompt and up-to-date arrangements which indicates the survey based on the consequent needs.

I hope you too remember the directions regarding the same and act upon.

Yours sincerely,
B.J. Glany ICS

Patriot attacked

Glancy's letter clearly indicates that Abdullah had proposed a political movement in Jammu and Kashmir which was aimed at the preservation of the British raj. He had already done some work in that connection, a plan had been prepared, which had been later slightly altered, and Abdullah had received his instructions. Further the plan was to dislodge from office one Mr. Lal.

Who was this Mr. Lal ?

Hari Kishan Lal was a fervent Indian patriot who in 1935 was the head of the Sericulture Department to Jammu and Kashmir. Highly qualified for his work, Mr. Lal developed the sericulture industry in the State and refused to compromise his political views. He had been a nationalist of long standing; having attended the 34th annual session of Indian National Congress in 1919, the year of the Jalianwala Bagh massacre.

Glancy personally knew him. But when in the wake of the

Swedeshi Movement, Mr. Lal banned the purchase of the British goods for his department, he became a thorn in Glancy's flesh. Further, Mr. Lal, with his nationalist views, became an example for others in Kashmir. Glancy used Abdullah in the first stage to seek dismissal of Mr. Lal from the post of the Director of the Sericulture Department. The weapon to used to secure this aim was the division between Hindus and Muslims. Abdullah was to rouse the Muslim workers to boot out the Hindu Mr. Lal.

Secret Meeting

That Abdullah got to work immediately, preaching hatred against the "Hindu" Director and praising the British, is clearly indicated from the following letter which he wrote on February 4, 1936 to Col. Lang, the British Resident, who was then camping at Sialkot.

"As requested before, I have not been favoured with the important directions regarding the Director of Sericulture. Will you please pay an immediate attention towards this rough scrawl and let me know how to proceed with.

A secret meeting of the Executive body was called upon. Resolution of no confidence against H.K. Lal, the Director, has been unanimously passed. You will note with great pleasure that it was done accordingly.

It has finally been decided that this disease in the Sericulture Department requires drastic remedy and when this remedial measure appears, we give our support.

The members of the meeting were made more excited and they preferred to bring the factory under British control. The situation and circumstances will not be more severe than necessary. Rest assured".

Now the Sheikh started working as British agent in Kashmir. According to Dr Gourinath Rastogi, the Sheikh had the biggest desire to become the Sultan of Kashmir. For this he could do anything. In the beginning of 40's he engineered violent revolts in Kashmir under the instructions of the Britishers and forced Maharaja Hari Singh to set up the Glancy

Commission for reforming the administration ? Glancy had remained Chief of the British Intelligence in India. In the name of the administrative reforms he forced the Maharaja to give Gilgit on lease for 60 years. He killed two birds with one stone. While on one hand Gilgit came under the British rule, on the other he succeeded in establishing Sheikh Abdullah as a political figure in Kashmir. Prior to this, Sheikh Abdullah could not establish his foothold in Gilgit, being a Muslim majority area, because of the influence of the Maharaja.

The mask of National Conference

Now Sheikh Abdullah decided to wear on his face a mask of natioalism. He wanted the support and blessings of some Indian leaders and Hindus for seeing his dream of becoming the sultan of Kashmir fulfilled. He succeeded in receiving guidance, support and blessings of influential national leaders like Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in order to reach the level of national leaders. Prof. Balraj Madhok has given information about this dramatic act of the Sheikh in his book "Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh".

According to Prof. Madhok, Sheikh Abdullah converted the Muslim Conference into the National Conference in 1939. By doing this in the interest of his political ambition he wanted to secure the support of the Indian National Congress and the Indian Press. Khan Abdul Gaffar too played a pivotal role in this. The Khan had explained to the Sheikh that since 95 per cent population of the valley was that of Muslims he would get the power, whenever and howsoever, as a leader of the Kashmiris. This strategy paid him dividends. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru started taking interest in him and his politics. He appointed him President of the All India States Peoples Conference. This gave him an opportunity to come to the national stage.

This way Sheikh Abdullah, a regional leader, highly communal and a British Agent, succeeded in coming to the all India stage with the support and blessings of Pandit Nehru.

In the clutches of communists

A person who is influenced by the interest of assuming power, any type of anti-national activity can be expected from such a person. Communists too ensnared him. When in 1942 the Quit India movement was at its peak, all prominent congress leaders were in jails, and the people of India were struggling for ousting the Britishers by supporting Mahatma Gandhi, the communists by dubbing Gandhi as a stooge of imperialists engaged themselves in the condemnable act of stabbing him in the back. These communalists tried and succeeded in using the Sheikh in weakening the Quit India movement.

The Quit Kashmir Movement launched by Sheikh Abdullah was a part of the conspiracy of the communists. Sheikh Abdullah wanted that before the British quit India, the Maharaja should quit Kashmir. The Sheikh was active, since 1931, in giving practical shape to this objective. This was also the wish of the British Government which had projected the Sheikh as a Kashmiri leader. The Sheikh, the communists and the British Government together launched the "Quit Kashmir Movement" at a time when the people of entire India were busy in the freedom struggle and were raising slogans like "Britishers, quit India". Maharaja Hari Singh too was a supporter of India'a independence. That is why the Britishers had formulated a long-term plan for finishing the Maharaja, and the Sheikh was implementing this plan. But unfortunately Pt. Nehru kept on siding with the Sheikh.

Naya Kashmir, a political stunt

The National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah adopted Naya Kashmir campaign as a manifesto. Behind the political stunt of Naya Kashmir three forces were playing their cards. Mountbatten wanted to keep away nationalist elements of Jammu and Kashmir away from the Indian freedom movement, through this, the communists were trying to project it as independent socialist republic and the Sheikh wanted to use it as a cushion for assuming the throne of

Kashmir. The manifesto of Naya Kashmir, contained a declaration for the establishment of a responsible Government besides the high ideals of reformation in social, educational and economic fields alongwith a provision for independent judiciary and parliamentary democracy. According to Sheikh Abdullah, all these things were possible when the Maharaja was ousted from power.

Quit Kashmir movement against the Maharaja

With full religious zeal the National Conference launched its Quit Kashmir movement on May 10, 1946. The entire Muslim society in Kashmir was made to follow the path of rebellion. This movement was directed against the Hindu Maharaja and the Dogras of Jammu. The Sheikh and his colleagues were arrested on May 20, 1946. This pained Pt. Nehru. He immediately wrote a letter to the Maharaja demanding immediate release of the Sheikh. Nehru did not limit himself to only making a demand, he decided to go to Kashmir for pleading the case of the Sheikh. He even rejected suggestions of senior congress leaders in this context. The Maharaja requested Pt. Nehru not to support the Sheikh because the Sheikh's movement had the blessings of the British Government and was against the interests of India.

Blessings of Pt. Nehru

It is a matter of ridicule that a national leader like Pt. Nehru could not stop his ego of being a Kashmiri and a friend of Sheikh Abdullah. Seeing that his appeal to Nehru had no impact, the Maharaja banned entry of Pt. Nehru into Kashmir. And when Nehru violated the ban and entered into Kashmir, he was arrested. This incident sowed the seeds of hatred in the mind of Nehru against the Maharaja. This unilateral decision of Nehru generated anger among the Congress leaders. The then President Acharya Kriplani, described this movement untimely, condemnable, ugly and opportunist.

When in 1947 Kriplani visited Kashmir as the Congress President, he repeated this opinion. In reply to a question of a newsman he said that the Britishers were foreigners and had to quit India but Maharaja Hari Singh was the son of the soil and how could he be told to quit the Jammu and Kashmir state. Kriplani had thought Sheikh Abdullah could not merge Kashmir with India. As a result of being a sole legal authority, Maharaja Hari Singh alone could accede or not. Even a one time guide of the Sheikh, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, too had criticised the movement saying that it was a revolt by some dissidents to create disorder in the state. The Maharaja too tried to suppress it.

The result was that Sheikh Abdullah was compelled to withdraw the movement. He had feared his arrest and thus displaying his old cowardice he planned to flee Kashmir. But this time the vigilant police arrested him near Uri on May 21, 1946. Under the instructions of the Maharaja he was jailed in Badami Bagh cantonment in Srinagar. This way the "Quit Kashmir" movement was completely crushed.

But the result of this incident was that hatred and animosity between Nehru, who sided with the antinational Abdullah, and the Maharaja, who ordered arrest of the Sheikh, further deepened.

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Pt. Nehru Committed Blunders

The partition of India was the end result of the 1200-year long continuous freedom struggle for total independence for the entire country. During this long era of slavery every generation had kept the flame of the struggle aflame through their matchless sacrifices and never accepted bondage even for a day. One generation kept on handing over the strings of struggle to the other and as such the struggle went on in different forms. But when the strings of this struggle came in the hands of the congress, instead of handing it over to the new generation it decided to end the struggle, thereby stabbing in the back of the social self-respect, and the national goal of total independence for the entire country.

The decision of the fatigued and old Congress leaders to abandon the struggle resulted in the partition of India. The incidents of massacre crossed their limits and slapped the faces of those who used to say that partition could be possible on their dead bodies. The country was divided well in front of their eyes. The century old and the world's first nation was partitioned because of the hunger for power and as a result of impatience of its leaders.

In the intoxication of the so called independence the country's leaders could not visualise the plans of those anti-nationalists who were already engaged in the conspiracies of partitioning the already divided country. Kashmir became a victim of such anti-national elements.

Nehru's short-sightedness

During the time of the partition of India in 1947 all the states were given the right, under the Indian Independence Act, to accede either to India or to Pakistan. Giving display of his political wisdom and capacity for taking decisions, the then Union Home Minister, Sardar Patel, succeeded in merging about 600 states with the Indian union. As a result of obstinacy and rigidity of Hyderabad and Junagarh, Sardar Patel merged them with India through military campaign.

But the matter of Jammu and Kashmir was kept by Pt. Nehru in his hands. His national outlook and his capacity to take decisions were eclipsed by his affection for Abdullah and his animosity with Maharaja Hari Singh and his ingrained Kashmiriyat. This personal ego kept Kashmir away from the rest of the Indian states.

Maharaja's indecisiveness

In this hour of crisis Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh, was caught in confusion. By acceding to India, Nehru's obduracy would not suit the Maharaja and by joining Pakistan the future of the vast Hindu society in Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh was to remain in the ditch of darkness. He felt the danger of destruction and annihilation of thousands of temples and monasteries, built by his forefathers, reserves of Sanskrit books and scriptures and bloomed culture which are a symbol of Indianness. As a result of his farsightedness and his innate love for united India the Maharaja turned down all the allurements of Mr. M.A. Jinnah. The geographical position of Jammu and Kashmir too was a cause of his problem. The highway that linked Jammu and Kashmir with India passed through Pathankot only. The rest of the routes passed through

Pakistan. The main highways of Sialkot sand Rawalpindi were with Pakistan. Therefore, even while being in favour of accession with India, the Maharaja could not take the final decision.

Mountbatten : Behind the Scene

Mountbatten too played his role in maintaining the Maharaja's indecision. According to Dr. Gourinath Rastogi, Mountbatten knew that if Jammu Kashmir was merged with India, then the strategic Gilgit area would come out of the influence of the Anglo-American block and the plan of carrying out a military siege of the Soviet Union could not materialise. Contrary to this, merger of Kashmir with Pakistan would facilitate this scheme. Mountbatten besides being an expert Army officer was also a skilful diplomat. He succeeded, for a long time, in preventing Maharaja Hari Singh from acceding to the Indian union by influencing the then Prime Minister, R.C. Kak through his English wife, who further influenced the Maharaja.

Jinnah's diplomacy

Those very days Sheikh Abdullah too remained busy in playing his political tricks. He established links with Pakistan and prevailed upon Jinnah to merge Kashmir with Pakistan in the name of Islam. On the advice of the Prime Minister, R.C. Kak, Maharaja Hari Singh put forth a resolution favouring a Standstill Agreement while keeping in view all the above mentioned compulsions. Pakistan gave its approval to the proposal after finding it a golden opportunity for keeping Kashmir away from India. But India did not agree. Gopalaswami Aiyer, Minister for State Affairs, reached Srinagar to discuss the issue with the Maharaja. The Maharaja was unmoved. On the other side, Pakistan was keen to grab Kashmir.

Jinnah formulated a comprehensive scheme for wooing and pressurising Maharaja Hari Singh to accede to Pakistan. He used all moral, illegal and military pressures for forcing the Maharaja to accede to Pakistan. He sought permission from the

Maharaja for staying in Kashmir for a few days. He wanted to prepare the Muslims in Kashmir for revolting against the Maharaja. Sh. Mehar Chand Mahajan has written that as per the plans of Jinnah he wanted Kashmir. Like the Mughal emperors, he wanted to see Kashmir as part of Pakistan so that as Governor General of Pakistan he could enjoy the salubrious climate of the valley. He would treat Kashmir in his pocket whether accession took place as per the wishes of the people or by force.

Seditious ways of R.C. Kak

The then Prime Minister, R.C. Kak, assured Jinnah of his support for his goal. Kak tried his best to influence the Maharaja but as an Indian nationalist the Maharaja had understood the link-up between Jinnah and Kak and he cleverly and politely prevented Jinnah from coming to Srinagar. R.C. Kak did not like all this.

Now Pakistan used another missile. It imposed economic blockade and closed all the routes to Kashmir. The postal and telecommunications services were disrupted. The supply of essential commodities was stopped. Pakistan violated the Standstill Agreement which R.C. Kak had got approved by it. The moment the veil was lifted from the pro-Pakistan feelings of R.C. Kak, the Maharaja immediately sacked him and appointed Gen. Janak Singh as the interim Prime Minister.

Pak invasion : Mehar Chand Mahajan as new Prime Minister

When the economic blockade failed, Pakistan took recourse to the third option. Armed Pakistani tribals infiltrated into Kashmir. It was an open invasion of Pakistan on India. In this highly serious situation the Maharaja, through the help of Sardar Patel, appointed Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, Mr. Mehar Chand Mahajan, as the Prime Minister. But Sheikh Abdullah did not want to see this farsighted and influential person installed as Prime Minister. In this connection he established his contact with his dear friend, Pt. Nehru. But

Sardar Patel smashed all his plans.

With the installation of Mehar Chand Mahajan as Prime Minister, Pakistan extended its invasion to the borders of the entire state. Besides the invasion, Pakistan kept on pressurising the Maharaja for acceding to Pakistan. According to Mehar Chand Mahajan, the son-in-law of a former Chief justice of Lahore High Court, Major Shah, who was one among important secretaries of Pakistan, was in Srinagar at that time. He was roaming in Srinagar with a whip and sword in one hand and accession papers in his other hand. He was pressurising Gen. Janak Singh and the deputy Prime Minister that they should prevail upon the Maharaja to accede to Pakistan. But by then he had not succeeded.

Plan to abduct the Maharaja

Pakistan continued to indulge in pressure tactics and the Maharaja too remained steadfast with confidence. Pakistan formulated a plan for kidnapping the Maharaja. Mehar Chand Mahajan has given an account of this scheme in his book "*The bitter truth of Kashmir*".

According to him, there was a plan to abduct the Maharaja and "myself" and force "us" to accede to Pakistan at gunpoint. "The news of our activities were being immediately sent to Pakistani authorities. "This way our programme of touring the border had been made available to Pakistan. The police Chief of Jammu was an agent of Pakistan". His plan was that "when we are having our meals in the Bhimber Dak Bunglow we will be arrested." Bhimber is close to the Pakistani border and falls on the famous Mughal route in Kashmir. The road runs close to the border and its one side touches Pakistan. "We had decided to go to Kathua on 20th and on 21st to Bhimber and Mirpur. Pakistanis had planned to attack us with armoured cars on October 21. Their objective was to destroy the Bunglow after arresting us, occupy the city, annihilate the Hindu population and loot their property".

They were, however, saved by unexpected incident, when on October 20 they reached near Kathua and stopped at a

crossing. Here one road led to Kathua and the other to Bhimber and Akhnoor. The Maharaja ordered the jeep driver to drive to Bhimber instead of Kathua. Mehar Chand Mahajan objected to it on the plea that officers would be waiting for the Maharaja at Kathua and on the wayside and when they had not sent any programme to Bhimber, there would be no proper arrangements there. "The Maharaja brushed aside my objections and said that he was not bound by any programme and he would hardly follow any". They went to Akhnoor and Bhimber and since it was late they could not reach Mirpur. The Pakistani invaders were active all along the border and it would look like a cremation ground in distant places. The Hindus were marching for safety and the Maharaja and his Prime Minister made some arrangement for their security. They had their lunch in the Bhimber Dak Bunglow and after issuing instructions for security arrangements for the city, they reached Jammu at 10 in the night. On the return journey to Jammu, houses on either side of the roads, were aflame. The Army was busy in restoring order and in providing assistance to the people. The Army Chief was present at the site and whatever was possible was being done to stop arson and massacre. And as per the earlier plan armed attack was launched from Gujarat and Bhimber Dak Bunglow was destroyed on October 21. Had they followed the initial programme fixed by the Maharaja they would have been burnt to death. But Maharaja's intuition had saved them from being killed by the Pakistanis.

Brigadier Rajinder Singh's rebuff to the invaders

The Maharaja's troops faced the powerful Pakistani invasion with courage. The Maharaja directed his Army Chief, Brigadier Rajinder Singh, to protect the state till his last breath. Brig. Rajinder Singh had, after receiving his degree from the P.W. College, Jammu, joined the State Army as Lieutant. His rise was quick and with his qualities of discipline he became the Chief of the Army Staff on August 14, 1947.

On the unfortunate day of October 22 he was on official

duty in the cantonment in Srinagar. He received a message that Muzaffarabad was under a major attack and the invaders were marching towards Srinagar. For the time being even the reserve troops were not nearby. He succeeded in organising a small group of 150 soldiers and civilians. But it was necessary to save the city and the only way for doing this was to stop the invaders on the Baramulla road. Brigadier Rajinder Singh decided to launch an attack from Dhumel, 112 kms from Srinagar.

But Dhumel was lost and the enemy troops marched ahead. The enemy took position at Garhi, 16 kms inside the state. The enemy troops stopped the infant company of soldiers of Rajinder Singh. Despite reverses, Rajinder Singh stood his ground for sometime but when the invaders attempted to lay a siege on the soldiers of Rajinder Singh, they came out of the siege and decided to return to Baramulla.

Struggle till the last moment

This retreat encouraged the enemy troops who reached Uri. Regrouping his troops the Brigadier rushed to Uri. In Uri Rajinder Singh faced the full thrust of the enemy and he performed the main task of stopping the invaders as long as he could so that their march to Srinagar was delayed. The Brigadier destroyed that bridge which cut the base of the enemies from the next place. The invaders launched a three-pronged attack which caused great loss to the Brigadier. First he retreated his soldiers from Moharra and then from Rampat (Jehlum Valley road). Here the Brigadier fought a bitter battle with the enemy for 11 hours. But the Brigadier had to pay a heavy loss. In the end he ordered the remaining troops to retreat. When the troops, while fighting, were searching for defensive position, Rajinder Singh was single-handed firing continuously to provide fire cover to the rear company. There at that time two bullets hit him, one injuring his right arm and the other his right leg but this did not silence his gun. Quickly the enemy surrounded him and he was killed.

In the "History of Kashmir" Bamzai has written that the

Brigadier and his soldier colleagues, cooks, mess bearers and orderlies, under the orders of the Brigadier, had taken up arms and performed great feat in the military history of the world. These sons of their motherland of India stopped the Pakistani troops for three days and prevented them from marching ahead.

Nehru's obstacle in accession

The RSS activists on the basis of their intelligence had already informed the Maharaja about the Pak plan of invasion and about the mutiny of Muslim soldiers. Expectedly Muslim soldiers, in the Maharaja's Army, killed their commander, Col. Narain Singh, and joined the Pakistani troops. In order to save people from the crisis, which had gripped Jammu and Kashmir, and in the interest of the integrity of India, the Maharaja accepted to give up his ego. He immediately sent his Prime Minister. Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan, to Delhi with the accession proposal, which had been signed by him. He had also requested the Government of India for sending troops. This pertains to October 24, 1947.

In the letter of October 26, 1947 the Maharaja had written in clear terms to Lord Mountbatten that the current situation and crisis in "my state has left me with the only option of seeking help from India". He had informed Mountbatten that so long he did not accede to India, it was natural that India could not give him the assistance he had sought for. Therefore, he has decided to do it and he had submitted the relevant accession papers for the approval of his Government.

It is a matter of misfortune for the country and Kashmir that still Pt. Nehru's obstinacy and personal ego created hurdles. Nehru had plainly told the Maharaja "First handover power in Jammu and Kashmir to Sheikh Abdullah, quit Jammu and Kashmir and go out of the state, then accession can be accepted and then the Indian troops will reach Srinagar". The "I will not agree" rote wasted two days and there in Kashmir the Pakistani troops while carrying out destruction, rape, arson and other crimes had reached Srinagar. Nehru's obduracy

proved heavy on the sincere suggestions of Sardar Patel, Gopalaswami Aiyangar, Acharya Kriplani, and Mahatma Gandhi. In the end, the Maharaja agreed to handover power to Sheikh Abdullah in the interest of the nation. On October 27, 1947 the Indian troops landed on the Srinagar airport which had been made worthy of landing by thousands of RSS workers' round the clock hard work. The Indian Army exhibited such a chivalry that the Pakistani soldiers took to their heels. Sheikh Abdullah, who had fled with his family members to a friend's house in Indore, was taken back to Srinagar under the security of the Indian Army in a plane of the Indian Airforce. Like a bridegroom he reached Srinagar. The Maharaja staked all he had and reached Jammu.

Nehru's policy : punishment for nationalist and reward for anti-national

This way Prime Minister of India, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, treated his personal friendship with a separatist, communalist and anti-national like Sheikh Abdullah above the security and integrity of the nation. Nehru tried to insult the nationalist Maharaja by projecting the Maharaja as too insignificant in comparison to the Sheikh. When Mehar Chand Mahajan reached Delhi with the accession letter, Nehru thought that if he would accept the proposal directly the credit would go to the Maharaja. Nehru wanted that this credit too should go to the Sheikh. It is said that at that time the Sheikh was in another room of Nehru. It is not known as to how the Sheikh, who had fled at the time of the invasion on Kashmir, had come to Nehru's place. When the Sheikh, who earlier plotted with Pakistan and was a schemer, said "yes" to the accession, Nehru accepted it. Nehru had patronised a traitor.

"It is said that the leader of the National Conference did not like the Maharaja. I wish to ask whether the people of Hyderabad liked the Nizam of Hyderabad ? It is said that whatever Maharaja Hari Singh did after the partition and prior to the accession was shocking. I would like to ask that whatever the Nizam did through Layaq Ali and Qasim Rizvi, was that

against the flames of communalism and in favour of friendship with India ? I want the Government of India to read its own white paper on the Nizam and say whether Hari Singh or Nizam of Hyderabad was bad ? Despite this, the Nizam was drawing Rs. one crore as yearly salary as head of the state. Maharaja Hari Singh is spending his last days in Bombay. I want to ask why this discrimination ? Was it a fault of Maharaja Hari Singh that he announced Kashmir's accession to India ? In the absence of his accession-related announcement, we have till today no basis for treating Kashmir as part of India. The Maharaja of Kashmir could too have been made a constitutional ruler like other Indian princes. His presence would have been a guarantee for Kashmir's unity. We have finished this guarantee and he has been left in the middle of feuds and disorder."

(Urdu Daily Milap, April 1952)

The policy of appeasement of the Muslims by Pt. Nehru and his friends in the Congress left Kashmir in the hands of those who had already partitioned the country. Had the Congress leaders any love for national interest, they would have entrusted power to Maharaja Hari Singh. But this nationalist ruler, who brought about Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India, had to spent his last days in Bombay as an ousted person. He had to remain away from the soil of his land. But against this, the Muslim Nizam of Hyderabad, who, under the instructions of Pakistan, launched an attack on the Indian troops, was installed as head of the princely state and was given Rs. one crore as yearly salary.

The insult and defeat of the Maharaja was an insult and defeat of the united nationalist forces of India. Sheikh Abdullah's political victory and welcome was a victory for those anti-national elements who had set foot on the soil of India in the 7th Century for converting India into Darul Islam. It can be treated as a misfortune for the entire India and Kashmir that here the nationalist forces have been defeated by their own people.

The cat out of its bag

According to Sh. Balraj Madhok, the mistake of entrusting the reins of the Government not only of Kashmir but of the

entire state to Sheikh Abdullah was bigger than the mistake of keeping Jammu and Kashmir out of the jurisdiction of Sardar Patel. This became evident from the first speech of the Sheikh in Srinagar on the evening of October 27. Mr. Madhok had himself listened to the speech. During his one-hour long speech the Sheikh did not, even once, talked about the Government of India and the Indian Army on whose shoulders he had returned to Srinagar and received the reins of the Government. He kept on inciting people with religious sentiments and went on repeating the Kalima. Raising his voice he had said "we have picked up the crown of Kashmir from the dust and whether we accede to India or to Pakistan is a secondary question, first of all we have to complete our freedom". Just one sentence clarified his intentions. His desire was to make Kashmir an independent sultanate and not accede to India.

The Sheikh picked up the crown from the dust and got engaged in ruining Kashmir. Which was this crown ? Which was that dust ? And what does this total independence mean ? These questions have remained unanswered till today. This "dust" was of Hindu Dogra rulers of Kashmir from whose head he had removed the crown and put it on his head. And the "crown" was those Muslim sultans whose 500-year long activities of atrocities and inhuman cruelties had converted Kashmir to Muslim Kashmir. The meaning of total independence lay in the Sheikh's becoming a Sultan.

Fetters of Security Council in the feet of victorious soldiers

On assuming power, the Sheikh's treacherous and anti-national feelings removed all their curtains and presented themselves shamelessly. But there was no change in the intentions of Nehru. The Muslim vote bank had opened its mouth in the entire country. Pt. Nehru adopted an ostrich type attitude. Sheikh Abdullah left no stone unturned in discouraging the Indian Army by issuing his orders. After ensuring the seucrity of Srinagar, when the Army marched to attack other areas of Kashmir, Mirpur, Kotli-Bhimber etc., to protect these

places, the Sheikh stopped them. Several thousand Hindus in these areas had been mercilessly killed. When the Chief Commander of the Indian Army, Gen. Pranjaype, informed Nehru about such activities of the Sheikh, Pt. Nehru told him plainly "Do whatever Sheikh Sahib tells you"? The result of this "do the same" policy was that whatever portion of Jammu and Kashmir was with Pakistan had to remain with Pakistan. On the basis of the occupation of this part of the state, Pakistan is ridiculing the policies of the Indian rulers.

Nehru, who was fond of wearing a rose and who remained drunk in his Kashmiriyat and pro-Muslim bias, kept on striking his feet with his axe and the strikes of this merciless and directionsless axe had kept on causing cracks in Kashmir, the crown of mother India. When the Indian troops were marching for liberating Pakistan occupied Kashmir, and the liberation was a metter of a few hours, that very moment Nehru, on the direction of the Sheikh, announced unilateral ceasefire on January 1, 1948. Feeling hurt over the attitude of Nehru, Justice Kunwar Dilip Singh, India's Agent General in Kashmir, resigned. Nehru did not stop there. He, without consulting Army commanders, took the Kashmir matter, at the behest of the Sheikh, to the United Nations' Security Council which announced that the fate of Kashmir can be decided through a plebiscite. Nehru invited trouble without asking. And today Pakistan, by swearing in the name of the Security council resolution, is backing the youths in Kashmir. An instance of such a political bankruptcy is not found anywhere in the world. It is a height of narrow vision.

The Sheikh wanted to settle many scores by exploiting this problem. Had the Indian Army been allowed four-five days' time, Pakistan would have been mauled and the entire Kashmir would have been with India thereby establishing the supremacy of the Indian troops. The Sheikh did not want it. The narrow vision of Nehru fulfilled this wish of the Sheikh. The Kashmir problem has, thus, remained on the files of the United Nations and has become a termite in the international politics. By taking the matter, through Nehru, to the Security Council the Sheikh smoothened his ways.

Maharaja's complaint to Patel

The constitutional head of the State, Maharaja Hari Singh, was highly dismayed over the anti-Hindu activities of Sheikh Abdullah. The Sheikh had almost descended to the level of a anti-national rebel. He was simply worried over Kashmir and its Muslims. There was danger of an end of Hindus of Kashmir and Hindus and Muslims of Jammu and Ladakh. According to Gourinath Rastogi, "what to speak of India, the Sheikh was not even interested in the protection of the entire state. His sole aim was to protect the Kashmir valley. The events of Gilgit, Kotli, Baltistan, Mirpur, Muzaffarabad and Bhimber lend evidence to it. Soon after the state's accession with India on October 27, 1947 the Indian Army had reached Srinagar by air. The Indian troops had liberated the entire valley from the occupation of Pakistani invaders within 10 days upto November 7. The troops had to march ahead to liberate the remaining areas of the state. The Military Governor of Gilgit, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, people of Mirpur, Bhimber, Kotli and Muzaffarabad and the Hindu leaders of the Jammu region were imploring in front of the officers of the Indian Army, requesting the troops to liberate these areas from the clutches of Pakistanis. But the Indian forces were not allowed to move forward. The Army commander of Jammu province, Brigadier Pranjaype, told Hindu leaders of Jammu the reason behind this, saying "Nehru had given the overall command of the Indian Army to Sheikh Abdullah and, therefore, the Army cannot move forward without his orders".

While giving information about the fundamentalist and conspiratorial attitude of Sheikh Abdullah Maharaja Hari Singh wrote a long letter to Sardar Patel. The Maharaja had written that even after the elapse of two months, the Indian troops were still in Uri. The main spots of Mirpur and Kotli have been lost after a defeat and the defeat "is a major blow for us. It has wounded the image of the Indian soldiers. Till now the Indian troops have not captured even a single town......In this context my position is precarious".

The Maharaja wrote to Patel that he had supported the

Indian Union under the belief that the Indian Union "will not allow us to stoop". There was no purpose of keeping the State with India if the Indian Union is not able to restore "to us our lost territory and if it is prepared to hand us over to Pakistan under the Security Council resolution". He even told the Sardar that he was prepared to take the command of the Kashmiri and the Indian troops because the country that cannot be understood by "your generals for months and years is better known to me".

This letter indicates Maharaja's pitiable and dishonourable condition. He was pained and troubled over the plunder, destruction and defeat of his state. He was hurt by the compulsions of the Indian Army, anti-national actions of Sheikh Abdullah, intrigue of Muslim soldiers in Kashmir Army, unstable policy of the Government of India and the procrastination of the Security Council. But he was helpless. His mind was in tears on seeing his people in difficulty.

Mehar Chand Mahajan's communciation to Patel

Mehar Chand Mahajan too wrote a letter to Sardar Patel informing him about the plight of the Maharaja. Describing the Sheikh as a feelingless creature, ' informed Patel about his (Shiekh's) fascist misrule. He wrote in his letter that the feelingless Sheikh, who had pledged faith in the Maharaja of Kashmir, was now wishing to drag the Maharaja to the court and was demanding his resignation. His new outlook is that let the Maharaja retain Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur and handover the rest of the geographical area to Pakistan. Now he was trying to meet the leader of the Muslim Conference Party, Ch. Abbas, in Jail, in order to secure his approval to his proposal.

Mr. Mahajan, in his letter, informed Patel that a situation had reached a stage when Sheikh Abdullah was openly insulting the Maharaja and was daily giving display to his communal bent of mind". "If you permit, I could submit comprehensive details and material which can throw light on the administra-

tive capacity, communal bent of mind of Sheikh Abdullah and his open insults to the Maharaja through the assistance of the National Guards. He has come to realise that he can do whatever he likes. After receiving your reply I shall submit, for your perusal, important examples on the corrupt administration of the Sheikh and on his fascist misrule".

The two letters of the Maharaja and Mehar Chand were thrown in the dustbin because of the obduracy of Nehru. In front of Nehru, Sheikh Abdullah was the only saviour of Kashmir and the nationalist and the rest of the nationalist Muslims and Hindus, including the Maharaja, Mehar Chand Mahajan, Patel, Acharya Kriplani, Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, Pandit Premnath Dogra, were all unwise.

Article 370 gives constitutional validity to separatism

Now Jenab Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah got engaged in the task of giving practical shape to his efforts for total Islamisation of Kashmir and its complete independence. The Sheikh was the Prime Minister and not the Chief Minister of the State. The State was governed by its own constitution and not by the Constitution of India. The National Conference flag was the State flag and not the tricolour. The Indians needed a permit for visiting Jammu and Kashmir. There were several other such separatist concessions and customs which Nehru offered, as his gift, in connection with the delight on Sheikh becoming the Sultan of the State. But the Sheikh was not satisfied with it. There was one special reason behind this dissatisfaction of Sheikh Abdullah despite having the blessings from the Prime Minister of India, support of the UN Security Council and Pakistan. He had fears that Hindus of India may come and settle in the land of Kashyap Rishi. He had fears that the Kashmiri Muslims may be swept by the national mainstream. He had fears that Kashmir may be recognised on the basis of its ancient culture, Kashmir may be amalgamated like other states in India after Pt. Nehru. Such fears would spoil his sleep. In order to realise his dream of total independence for Kashmir,

it was necessary to keep Jammu and Kashmir away from India permanently. He needed such an instrument through which he could protect the seed, he had sown, of separatism in Kashmir. He again took Nehru for a ride and brought him under the clutches of his schemes. By incorporating Article 370 in the Constitution of India, Nehru offered him that instrument.

Article 370 of the Constitution gave constitutional validity to Abdullah's separatist ideas and international intrigues and gave a special position to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It also affixed stamp on the historical fact that the Muslim majority region cannot remain with India. The details of this Article are given in the succeeding chapters.

The Sheikh started giving practical shape to all his anti-national ideas and activities. Many schemes were implemented in broad daylight which related to the recruitment of members of the National Conference and the Peoples United Front, in the Government services, full support to the activities of Jamait-e-Islami, anti-India teachings in schools, secret links with Pakistani leaders, atrocities on Kashmiri Pandits, development of Kashmir region at the cost of Jammu and Ladakh provinces. Pt. Nehru received information about it but he adopted "I do not agree" policy. When there was no other alternative, the nationalists of Jammu and Kashmir launched a powerful agitation under the leadership of Pt. Premnath Dogra. The agitators formed Praja Parished which launched the agitation for three years. The Sheikh broke all the records in crushing this peoples' movement. People sacrificed, filled the jails, tolerated atrocities from the Kashmir police but kept alive the flame of the struggle. But all this did not open the eyes of Nehru.

Sheikh exposed and Nehru slightly yielded

Many other leades informed Nehru about the split personality of Sheikh Abdullah. Those very days a member of the Indian Constituent Assembly, Sh. M.L. Chottopdhiya, went to Kashmir for rest along with his colleague, Dr. Raghuvir. They prepared a comprehensive report about the Sheikh after holding discussions with representatives of people, social and

religious leaders in the state and submitted that report before a meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress. This report carried an account of the Sheikh's scheme of having an independent Kashmir. According to Gourinath Rastogi, the Sheikh himself had given a proof of his desire for carving out an independent Kashmir during his interview with two British Journalists, Michael Davidson and Ward Price. When reports about it were published in the newspapers, Sardar Patel summoned Sheikh Abdullah and pulled him up and the Sheikh assured him that such a mistake will not be repeated. But in reality there was no change in his intentions. And the intelligence officer who had reported the matter regarding the interview was forced to Quit Kashmir. In November 1952 the defeated Democratic Party candidate, in the Presidential elections in the United States, Steevenson, had close links with Sheikh Abdullah and the two together were preparing the scheme for Independent Kashmir.

Prime Minister Nehru visited Srinagar in May 1953. By chance, that time the five-day convention of the National Conference was going on. The report about the Sheikh's anti-India, pro-Pakistan, and separatist speeches at the convention reached Nehru. Nehru invited top leaders of the National Conference to his place. The Sheikh too was present. Nehruji tried to bring them on the right path by talking about the history of India, heritage of Kashmir and the unity of the country. Instead of accepting the guidance of Nehru, the Sheikh tried to ridicule him. The Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Mr. G.K. Handoo, who had accompanied Nehru to Srinagar as his security chief, and the Union Home Minister, Mr. Kailashnath Katju, submitted several secret documents to Nehruji. After perusing these documents Nehru told the Sheikh "Sheikh Sahib till now I was behaving with you as Jawaharlal Nehru but henceforth I shall be behaving with you in the capacity of a Prime Minister." It means Nehru himself had admitted that till then all the decisions on Kashmir were taken by Nehru in the capacity of a friend of Sheikh Abdullah and not as Prime Minister of India.

After this, Nehru sent Maulana Azad to Srinagar to bring the Sheikh on the right path. Even being unwell, Maulana came to Srinagar on the suggestion of Nehru. Maulana tried to make the Sheikh understand things during his long meeting with him. He had told him that the welfare of Kashmir lay in being with India. The Muslims and their religion were safe in India. The Sheikh dubbed a great leader like Maulana Azad as an enemy of the Muslims and a stooge of Hindus. On returning to Delhi, Maulana Azad conveyed his experiences to Nehru and suggested to him to dismiss the Sheikh immediately.

A member of the UNCIP mission, Joseph Karbel, in his report "Danger in Kashmir" has given a correct and meaningful account about the Sheikh.

"In May 1949 Sheikh Abdullah had assured Jawaharlal Nehru that 'I want you to believe that Kashmir is your's. No power in the world can separate us. Every Kashmiri feels that he is an Indian and India is his motherland'. From time to time he made a repeated mention about the total independence of Kashmir and on other occasions he announced that the idea of independence was not practicable. In 1952 he declared that 'our state is neither under the legal domination of the Indian Parliament nor that of any Parliament from outside the state. India or Pakistan, any country cannot be a spike in our wheel of progress'. After some days he described Kashmir as such a bridge between India and Pakistan that can unite the two in one country. Two days later he said that the relations between Pakistan and India were strong and stable and no power on the earth can separate us. Again he made an announcement that 'Kashmir's existence does not depend on India's money, trade or security forces and he does not attach any importance to the strings of Indian assistance. He cannot be forced to stoop by threats'. The fact is that he, while raising Kashmir, step by step, carried it far away from India. One of his political rivals has described him as communal in Kashmir, communist in Jammu and a nationalist in India."

In the description of Joseph, the real face of Sheikh Abdullah is magnified. He gave a display of this character while crushing the Praja Parishad movement. By then the movement

had received support from India. Nehru too was apprised of the dictatorial behaviour of the Sheikh and his black laws. Nehru was caught in two minds. When Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookherjee violated these black laws and reached the Jammu border, he was arrested and sent to Srinagar Jail where he died in mysterious circumstances. The entire country was rocked by this sacrifice. When the flames of revolt against the Sheikh and the murder of Dr. Mookherjee rose from all corners of India, it opened the eyes of Nehru. In order to assess the situation in Kashmir Nehru reached Srinagar. The result: Sheikh was imprisoned.

National character of Nehru ?

Here many questions arise. Why was it that a leader like Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru did not know the anti-national inclinations of the Sheikh for so many years ? If he had known it, why he kept on tolerating disservice to the nation ? Why did he deliberately adopt such a policy through which Kashmir has become a permanent problem ? Did he give more importance to personal friendship than the country ? Was he too willing to see Kashmir as an independent state ?

The then Deputy Chief of the Intelligence Bureau, Mr. B.N. Malik, has lifted the curtain from it in his book "My days with Nehru". He writes :

"Then suddenly to our utter surprise Pandit Nehru started talking bitterly against Sheikh Abdullah's communalism. He traced the Sheikh's history from 1930 onwards and mentioned how he had started his career with the Muslim Conference, which was an out and out communal organisation. He said that as a result of pressures from outside and also seeing the development of the People's Movement in the rest of India and for purely tactical reasons and probably under the advice of some of his more liberal followers, the Sheikh had converted the Muslim Conference into the Political Conference to give it a non-communal appearance. At this time Pandit Nehru suddenly looked at me and enquired whether I had come across some information of possible British connivance in that

movement. I replied in the affirmative. He continued his talk against the Sheikh and mentioned all his communal activities throughout the period he had acted as the National Conference leader. It was the Pakistani aggression which had mellowed him a little for a short time, because the tribals had committed gruesome atrocities on the Muslim population in the valley. But, as soon as he became the Prime Minister, he came out in his true colours once again and started his anti-Hindu activities. In contrast, he praised Bakshi and Sadiq for their completely non-communal outlook and said that these two were really secular-minded persons who required all support from India. Pt. Nehru said that all trouble in Kashmir was due to the Sheikh's communal outlook and it was he who was not allowing the state to settle down to peace and stability. The Sheikh always talked about the rights of the Muslims, forgetting that the Hindus also formed nearly 35 per cent of the population of the state and he never showed any consideration for them. Pt. Nehru mentioned that politically he and other Indian leaders had to go along with the Sheikh for a considerable period and they had also helped him and played him up hoping that by coming in contact with secular India, where Muslims and Hindus and persons of all other denominations were living together and enjoying a peaceful life. Sheikh Abdullah would be able to get rid of his communalism; but communalism was a disease with him and he could never get rid of it and his entire outlook and behaviour were based on the fact that Kashmir valley had a Muslim majority. Therefore, he was not at all surprised that the Sheikh had conspired with Pakistan to overthrow the non-communal and secular Government of Bakshi and Sadiq. What Pt. Nehru said was factually correct and was similar to what Sardar Patel had stressed to me in 1949. At the end he wished G.S. Pathak a success and concluded by saying that he himself was allergic to these protracted political trials and he suggested that every effort should be made to expedite it."

The above revelation from Malik has tied Nehru's entire life, his mind and national character to a deep question mark.

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Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

The contribution of the RSS in the field of Kashmir's accession to India and in its one Head, one symbol and one constitution is now an honourable page of history.

The courtiers of the Maharaja, his associates and members of the council of ministers exerted their full pressure for Kashmir's accession to India. Sardar Patel and Mahatama Gandhi too tried but the Maharaja was not prepared. He was not ready to accept the domination of Nehru. On the other side Pakistani troops had reached the borders of Kashmir.

Meeting between the Maharaja and Sh. Guruji

The efforts of political leaders had failed. Time was getting delicate. In these conditions Sardar Patel sent a message to the RSS Chief, Sh. M. S. Golewalker, through Mehar Chand Mahajan, requesting him to use his influence to prevail upon the Maharaja to accede to India. Sh. Guruji cancelled all his engagements and rushed to Srinagar from Nagpur by air via Delhi to resolve the ticklish and delicate question. Through the efforts of Mehar Chand Mahajan and Pt. Premnath Dogra a meeting between Sh. Guruji and Maharaja Hari Singh was arranged.

It was not a personal meeting. It was not a discussion on house, land, property or on the politics of votes. It was a historical meeting on the question of integrity of the nation. The Maharaja who remained unmoved by many national leaders bowed his head in front of a simple-clad staunch nationalist. He

understood the importance of protection of his religion and nation. The Maharaja sent the accession proposal to Delhi and Sh. Guruji directed the RSS workers in Jammu and Kashmir to shed last drop of their blood for the security of Jammu and Kashmir. After issuing these directions he returned to Delhi.

It may be recalled that prior to it, the Punjab provincial chief of RSS, Rai Bahadur Badri Das, had also met the Maharaja in July 1947 but his efforts to prevail upon Hari Singh to accede to India had failed.

Sh. Madhav Rao Mulle, has given information about this historical fact in the book "Shri Guruji Sāmagra Darshan". Sh. Madhav Rao was Praant Pracharak of RSS in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.

According to Madhav Rao, "the union Home Minister, Sardar Patel, had told Mehar Chand Mahajan, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, to prepare Maharaja Hari Singh for accession of the state to India. Mehar Chand Mahajan conveyed the message to Sh. Guruji requesting him to meet the Maharaja and prepare him for the accession. Mr. Mahajan had arranged the meeting between Guruji and the Maharaja".

"Guruji reached Srinagar by air from Delhi on October 17, 1947. The meeting took place on the morning of October 18. During the meeting prince Karan Singh, with his plastered fractured leg, was present while lying on the bed. Maharaja's contention was that 'my state is fully dependent on Pakistan. All routes passed through Sialkot and Rawalpindi. Lahore is my airport. How can I have relations with India' ? Sh Guruji made him to understand saying 'you are a Hindu king'. By acceding to Pakistan your Hindu people will have to struggle against grave difficulties. It is correct that there is no road, rail or air link with India but it can be set right quickly. In your interest and in the interest of Jammu and Kashmir state it is better for you to accede to India."

"Sh. Mehar Chand Mahajan told the Maharaja 'Guruji is saying the right thing. You should accede to India'. In the end the Maharaja presented a "Tosa" (superfine pashmina) shawl to Guruji. In the accession of Jammu and Kashmir with India Guruji has made an important contribution."

There is no mention of this important event in any recognised book of history. Nobody knows about it, none has turned the page of history, nobody reads the event regarding the State's accession to India. There are three reasons for it.

First, the men of the RSS know how to serve the country. The RSS activists are away from propagating it and they have no interest in publicising it through their writings. Guruji hated self-praise and self-publicity. Therefore, there is very scanty material written on the nationalist activities of the RSS. It is natural for the Sangh to remain aloof from the pages of history. Like many political leaders, Guruji did not write his autobiography.

Secondly, it was the nature of the Congress to get history written. Afer achieving independence whatever books of history have been written on the freedom struggle, place has been given only to the Congress revolution. Subash Chander Bose, Savarkar, Bhagat Singh, Dr. Hedgewar and others have been sidelined. Under this trend the above mentioned national contribution of Guruji has not found any mention in the books of history. The above historical event has been lost in the self-praise of the ruling congress leaders and in their political intrigues of undermining the nationalism of others.

Thirdly, the installation of Sheikh Abdullah as Prime Minister soon after the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India. In order to take the credit for the State's accession to India the Sheikh lied, changed his stance many times and got many historical documents and files destroyed. It is said that the Sheikh even got destroyed Maharaja Hari Singh's historical documents and his memoirs.

Initial security of Kashmir by RSS activists

By the middle of 1946 the RSS Shakhas had flourished in the Kashmir valley. Educated youths came in contact with the Shakhas. And the majority of the Sangh activists in the Shakhas used to be Kashmiri Hindus. Guruji was on tour of north India and a plan had been prepared for organising a massive public meeting in Srinagar.

All activists and workers of the RSS felt happy. It was natural. It was a great event to have a top leader of a top Hindu organisation in Kashmir where 90 per cent population was that of the Muslims, where the Hindu society has remained supportless for centuries, where the sanctity of religious places had been destroyed and where the Hindu society was existing without any respect. The meeting was organised in the premises of D.A.V. College, Srinagar. Over 1,000 RSS activists were present in the meeting. Prominent citizens of the city too were invited. they attended the meeting with faith. While emphasising the need for unity in the Hindu society, respected Guruji called for vigilance against the activities of the anti-national elements and urged people to defeat these elements unitedly. This function brought about encouragement in the Valley which was evident during the Pakistani aggression on Kashmir.

The sacrifices rendered by the RSS activists for protecting Kashmir at the time of the Partition deserve a special treatment and mention in the history of India. Right on the morning August 15, 1947 pro-pak elements had started creating disturbances in Srinagar. Pakistani green flags were hoisted on all Government buildings. The RSS activists accepted the challenge and finalised a scheme in the headquarters of RSS. By 10 O'clock thousands of RSS workers and Hindus assembled near Amirakadal bridge. Their patriotism was worth seeing. Even those who dubbed Kashmiri Pandits as cowards had to keep their fingers crossed when within a short time Pakistani flags were removed and a big procession was taken out in major streets of Srinagar. Pro-Pak elements were challenged. The entire atmosphere reverberated with the slogan of "Bharat Mata Ki Jai". The Hindu society felt encouraged and the Maharaja too realised the strength and devotion of the Sangh.

Two prominent Sangh Pracharaks, Mr. Harish Bhanot and Mr. Mangal Sen, established contact with Pakistani officers and, in the disguise of Muslims, collected all the information about the military activities of Pakistan and of the possible invasion, for one month, which was given to Prof. Balraj Madhok. They even gave the information about the date

of the aggression and the routes the invaders were to follow. The Maharaja summoned Mr. Madhok. The meeting took place in the Palace in Srinagar. After getting all the information the Maharaja demanded 200 RSS workers so that they could be given arms for protecting the city. Realising the gravity of the situation, Mr. Madhok promised to bring 200 RSS activists the next morning.

The RSS workers were given information at midnight directing them to report at Arya Samaj temple at six in the morning. In the morning 200 RSS workers were present and everyone of them was a student and had come out of their houses to render sacrifices for the country. A prayer meeting was held and later were carried to Badami Bagh cantonment in an Army truck where some soldiers were ready. They quickly taught the young students how to handle the gun. By the evening these youths had reached the battle front. For two days these RSS soldiers stopped the Pakistani troops till the arrival of the Indian Army. Everybody knows about this historical sacrifice but none speaks about it. The Sheikh too knew about it. The same Sheikh who had left behind the people on hearing the news about the Pakistani invasion and fled, alongwith his family members, to Bombay. The Valley was saved first by the RSS workers and then by the Indian Army, not by the fugitive Sheikh.

Martyrs of Kotli

By a mistake on the part of the Indian Airforce, boxes of ammunition were dropped on the other side of the Nallah which was within the firing range of Pakistani troops. How to evacuate those boxes ? Who will get them ? If the troops were asked to do it, it would have meant death for them. Who would then fight later ? If the ammunition boxes were not evacuated, the Indian troops could be killed. What to do ?

There was need for a great sacrifice for evacuating these boxes. The Army commander hit on a plan. He thought that only the RSS youths could do it and accordingly he reached the RSS headquarters at Kotli. Mr. Chander Prakash, Manager of

Punjab National Bank, Kotli branch, was the organiser of the Sangh at that time. He listened attentively to the Army commander and told him "How many youths are needed"?

The Army officer said "eight will do". Chander Prakash had become emotional out of his eagerness to render sacrifice and told the Army officer that he should wait in the office without any worry because he would bring seven youths, eighth being himself, within half an hour.

Chander Prakashji immediately rushed to the town and Sought names of those who were ready to render sacrifice. More than 30 youths came forward. It was a problem for Mr. Chander Prakash to make a selection out of the 30 youths. He lined all of them and picked up seven youths. It was difficult to make others agree to stay back and ultimately he had to issue his command. For an RSS activist command from his leader is like the command from God. The rest stopped. They bid tearful farewell to their eight comrades. They knew the meaning of this farewell and as such it was a mute farewell.

Mr. Chander Prakash reached the Army officer with the seven youths within less than half an hour. The eight youths reached the battlefront with the commander. They were informed about the work they had to carry out in evacuating the ammunition boxes without allowing the Pakistani troops to have any idea of it and in bringing those boxes upto the Indian troops. After understanding their job, the eight youths marched forward to their destination.

While crawling, slipping and stumbling, the eight youths reached the Nallah on whose other bank lay the boxes. The Nallah was full of water with sharp flow. These youths swam fast across the Nallah to reach the goal.

Each youth picked up one box. One carrying it on the head and the other on his back. Gradually they re-entered the Nallah but could not maintain silence in the water. The sound of their movement reached the Pakistani troops. The result was indiscriminate firing from the machineguns on them. They were not scared of death because they had come out of their houses in the guise of martyrs. But they had one worry : they wanted to see the boxes reach the hands of the Indian soldiers before the

youths were killed. Under the rain of fire, the youths crossed the Nallah and were marching towards the Army camp.

The rain of bullets turned into torrents. Chander Prakash and Ved Prakash, the two youths, were hit by bullets. Both of them were injured and fell down but there was no time for others to take care of the two. After leaving the two wounded youths there, the six youths marched ahead with boxes on their backs. These youths succeeded in their mission and handed over the ammunition boxes to the Army. They were worried about their two colleagues whom they had left behind. These six youths left for the spot for carrying back the wounded comrades and followed the same route under the rain of bullets. How hazardous it was ? But they were determined as they had great affection for their comrades. They had fulfilled their mission and now their task was to evacuate their two injured comrades. Where shall such an example of mutual love be found ?

When the six youths left for evacuating their two comrades, the rain of bullets further intensified. They crawled to the place where the two wounded comrades had been left. But they got the bodies of the two comrades. They had achieved martyrdom in the service of their motherland. There was no time to wail and weep. They carried the two bodies on their back and started their trek on the rockey and bushy paths to reach the Army camp.

But it had become difficult to escape easily from the continuous firing from behind. They had travelled a small distance when one more comrade received two bullets in his ear and became a martyr there and then. His body too was carried by them and marched forward. It was a terrible test for these nationalists : they had to crawl with dead bodies on their back on difficult path and that too under the heavy rain of bullets. They kept on moving and the Army camp was nearby. But nature needed more blood. One more comrade was silenced with a bullet that hit him. His body too was carried by the surviving youths with courage and fortitude.

It was heart rending scene. The youths returned to their camp. Four returned out of the eight. Each carried a body of the martyrs. All the RSS workers, citizens, mothers and sisters of

the Kotli town had waited in tension for the full day. Slogans of "Shaheedoon ki Jai" (respects to Martyrs) and "Bharat Mata ki Jai" (respects to Mother India) rent the sky. People decorated the four bodies with flowers and arrangements for their cremation were made by people weeping and wailing over the loss.

A big pyre was built outside the town. The four bodies were placed on the pyre with the Army salute and amid the wails, tears and sobs of the people. Women showered flowers on the pyre. The flames of the pyre started kissing the sky. The four, who had carried the bodies to the town, burst into tears. They cried, they wept. The Army authorities directed all to return to their houses immediately. It was getting dark. The Pakistani troops continued firing from the mountain in front.

The ammunition boxes were opened. The soldier was equipped with ammunition and now our troops too had the ammunition. The Indian troops launched a fierce attack on the Pakistani soldiers like a hungry lion. The heavy attack shook the Pakistani troops. Our soldiers fought chivalrously throughout the night. With the advent of the pink dawn the Indian troops had captured the hillock. Here the pyre of the martyrs was silent and there on the hillock the tricolour fluttered.

Repairs of airfields

There were no airfields for facilitating the landing of Indian Airforce men. Wherever they existed, they were in a pitiable condition. Not to speak of the planes even people could not walk on those runways. There was need for their quick repair and renovation. But it was not possible to arrange a big force of labourers. Even if thousands of labourers could be arranged it was not possible to pay them their wages in those conditions. There was need for such devoted labourers who would work free of cost for repairing the airfields. Therefore, the eyes of the Army officers and citizens fell on the RSS activists. They knew that the RSS activitsts were dedicated and sacrificing.

The matter was discussed with Sangh leaders. Everyone

was ready. On receiving the directions, thousands of RSS workers jumped into the field. The repair and the renovation of the airstrips in Srinagar, at Poonch and in Jammu were taken in hand. The work on these airfields was carried out round the clock. Everyday the RSS activists would come out in their shorts to work on the airfields for which the Sangh made arrangement for the tools. The workers would carry food from their houses. After working continuously for several hours these RSS workers would sit together to partake their food and it was lovely sight of love and affection.

Under their principle of "we shall donate everything to the country and in return we shall not accept anything", these RSS workers gave up their trade, went on leave from the Government services and abandoned their domestic happiness to work round the clock for making these three airstrips worthy for landing within the stipulated time.

Remained steadfast against bullets

In the meantime there was a report indicating that 1200 Hindus and Sikhs had been surrounded by the enemy at Palandhari, 20 kms north-west of Kotli, and their lives were in danger. The Sangh people, under the leadership of Mr. Kedar Nath Sahni, met the Army authorities requesting them to evacuate 1200 Hindus and Sikhs who were counting the time of death at Palandhari. The Army authorities realised the gravity of the situation but refused to provide any help on the plea that the number of troops they had was even insufficient to protect the town and as such how could they send the soldiers out of the town. And when the Sangh workers insisted by informing the Army officers that a big number of Hindus were counting days of their life, the authorities were moved. They agreed to send 31 soldiers under the leadership of one Lieutant Ishwari Singh and with them went one police inspector, Mr. Hari Singh, and about 100 RSS activists.

The report about the plan of evacuating people from Palandhari by the Army and the Sangh workers was sent by a Muslim Tehsildar to Zaildar and Nambardar of Sarsave who

were Muslims. The two passed on the report to the tribals.

Next morning 30 Army jawans, 12-15 policemen and about 100 RSS activists left for Palandhari under the leadership of Lt. Ishwari Singh. The moment the caravan started climbing the ascent, it came under indiscriminate heavy fire. The enemy had fortified itself on the higher elevations. Since the enemy was equipped with machineguns, mortars and bombs, its attack became fierce.

Despite being surrounded unexpectedly from all the four sides, the battle lasted for several hours. Not a single Hindu soldier and RSS activists turned back even being in a smaller number than the enemy and despite having meagre weapons and ammunition. Their steps were not shaken despite the roar of the rain of bullets. While killing the enemy troops, they also met death one by one.

One feels a wave of sacrifice in one's mind while wishing to touch the blood-red soil of Palandhari where the soldiers and the RSS workers shed their blood. Repeated salutes to such brave sacrifices.

Sheikh's dictatorship and Praja Parishad's agitation

The pro-Pak and anti-India sentiments of the Sheikh had been exposed in front of the entire world. In the Congress, too, the mistrust against him was increasing. The people of India had become aware of his anti-national and treacherous attempts. But by accepting a plebiscite, Nehru had forged a dangerous agreement with Sheikh Abdullah which was dangerous not only for the integrity of India but had put a question mark on the future of 20 lakh people in Jammu and Ladakh. In comparison to the rest of the country, Kashmir was given a special status. The flag, the constitution etc were made separate for Kashmir. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookherjee apprised the Parliament of the dangers of this agreement but Nehru did not agree. He even did not think it proper to talk to the peoples' representatives of Jammu and Ladakh.

When people of Jammu started feeling the impact of this

agreement, it gave birth to the embers of a revolt. The RSS workers decided to oppose the Sheikh stoutly after visualising the anti-Hindu stance of the Sheikh. With the slogan of one constitution, one symbol and one leader a new party, named Praja Parished, was formed under the leadership of Pt. Premnath Dogra to start a powerful but peaceful agitation. Thousands of Sangh activists took to the streets for a sacrifice for the country's integrity and unity. Many leaders and workers of Praja Parishad went to Delhi to apprise the Government of India, members of Parliament and leaders of different political parties of the separatist activities of Sheikh Abdullah. They met also Nehru. But it seemed that he was not prepared to listen to even a word against Sheikh Abdullah. Therefore, Dr. Shyama Prasad took the historical decision of supporting this struggle.

A powerful Satyagrah was launched in Delhi and Pathankot. RSS workers left their demostic worries and courted arrest. Dr. Shyamaprasad tried to mediate between the Government and leaders of Praja Parishad but failed. According to the words of Mr. A.B. Vajpaye, "Nehru's obduracy made all his (Dr. S. Prasad's) efforts completely unsuccessful. The man who prided in announcing that he would not give a needle-tip land without a fight reminded one of the story of Daryodhana and Nehru refused even to talk to Praja Parishad". And there was no other alternative left for Dr. Mookherjee except for blowing the conch of agitation. In the absence of any agreemnt taking shape he was committed to launch a peaceful satyagrah and agitation in support of the people of Jammu.

Martyrdom of Dr. Shyamaprasad

After ensuring peoples' support for the agitation, Dr. Prasad decided to test on the touchstone of Nehru's statement that Kashmir was 100 per cent part of India. In this context he decided to come to Jammu without a permit. While leaving Delhi for a two-day tour of Punjab on May 9, he issued a statement that his purpose of visiting Jammu was not to foment tension and trouble but his aim was to make another bid to

resolve the discord through peaceful and honourable means. While commenting on his decision to enter Jammu without a permit he said that as a citizen of India he had the full right to visit any part of the country and since Nehru would say everyday that Kashmir was 100 per cent part of India he had decided to go there without any permit.

This step of Dr. Mookherjee received powerful appreciation in the entire country. Between Delhi and Pathanot thousands of men and women greeted him at many stations with the slogan "abolish permit system" and he was assured of their support. It was expected that Dr. Prasad would be arrested before reaching Pathankot. But out of the scare of the Supreme Court, the Government allowed him not only to reach Pathankot but also assured that it would not take any step aganist him when he would enter Jammu.

The Deputy Commissioner of Gurdaspur District, Mr. Vashisht, informed Dr. Prasad at Pathankot that he could visit Jammu without any permit and the Government of India will not create any hurdle in his way. He also informed him that in Jammu Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. would meet him. But when he entered into the Jammu border alongwith his associates, the Kashmir militiamen stopped him on the Ravi bridge. There, the Superintendent of Police, Kathua, directed him not to enter into the state border. Dr. Prasad refused to accept the order and was arrested under the Kashmir Security Act.

Prior to his arrest he told people, in a message, that "I have entered into Jammu and Kashmir, but in the capacity of a prisoner". His message spread like lightning in the entire country. Satyagrahis, from various corners, started entering into Jammu and Kashmir without permits. With one stroke of Dr. Prasad the artificial wall of permit system between Jammu and Kashmir and the rest of India crumbled and with it Nehru's lie that Kashmir was 100 per cent part of India stood exposed.

After his arrest Dr. Mookherjee was taken to Srinagar where on the 43rd day of his detention he was declared dead in mysterious circumstances on June 23.

Letter of Dr. Shyama Prasad's mother to Nehru

"....I know he cannot be brought back to life. But I want to know what role your Government has played in this shocking event so that people can know the reasons behind this tragedy in this independent country. Allow justice to take its course while dealing with any crime of an individual, even if he is occupying a high post, so that people are allowed to remain alert against such criminals and there was no scope for any other mother like me to wail and weep over such a type of tragedy."

Nehru's reply

"...I have enquired from those people who know the reality. I can say only this much that I stand by truth and there is no mystery around this incident....."

Yogmaya Devi's reply

"...I do not want any clarification from you, I want an inquiry. Your arguments are hollow and you are afraid of facing the truth. Remember, you are answerable to the People and God. I treat the Kashmir Government guilty of the murder of my son and I charge it with having killed my son. I hold your Government guilty of concealing the matter and of attempts at manoeuvring..."

As a result of the rejection of the demand for an enquiry, people of India raised one voice saying that Dr. Mookherjee was killed. The life of a national leader was finished for achieving hateful political goal.

Success of Satyagrah

The Satyagrah was suspended for 13 days after the death of Dr. Mookherjee. In the meantime, Nehru issued a direct appeal requesting people to call off the Satyagrah. It was for the first time in the history that a direct appeal for calling off the Satyagrah was issued by a ruler. The result of the confabula-

tions was that a decision was taken to end the Satyagrah. On July 7, the agitation was called off on the appeal of Sh. Premnath Dogra and the Government was given an opportunity for changing its policies in order to ensure integration of Kashmir with India, for which assurance had been given by Nehru, Dr. Katju and the Bakshi.

Whatever Dr. Prasad had said was achieved. The Sheikh was dismissed and arrested. Nehru, by accepting his mistake, expressed his regrets over the evil deeds of Sheikh Abudllah and held talks with the leaders of Praja Parishad. The Kashmir Constituent Assembly adopted a resolution announcing merger of Kashmir with India and the President of India issued a special notification on May 14, 1954 for the implementation of all the clauses of the Delhi Agreement.

20

Kashmir Conspiracy Case

Sheikh Abdullah was involved in cases of treason and treachery
After the arrest of the Sheikh, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was installed as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. This influential leader controlled firmly the agitation that took shape after the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah. Bakshi justified the arrest of the Sheikh. In one of his Radio broadcasts, he linked Sheikh Abdullah with treason and imperialism. He said, "A fraud was being committed on the interests of the country. The slogan of independence was dangerous. Under the control of an imperialist power an independent Kashmir would have been a serious danger for the people of India and Pakistan. A situation similar to Korea could have been created there".

If the Bakshi handled law and order with a stern face, he gave latitude to Mirza Afzal Beg and some other leaders. In prison Mirza Beg established the Plebiscite Front under the guidance and blessings of Sheikh Abdullah. The Bakshi gave permission for its propaganda. The Front would talk about the interests of the Muslims in Kashmir but its leader never talked about the difficulties of the entire state or about the Hindu minority in Kashmir.

Nehru, dear friend of Sheikh Abdullah, was not happy over the incarceration of the Sheikh. Therefore, after keeping him in prison for five years the Sheikh was released in 1958. Bakshi kept him under surveillance. Sheikh Abdullah restarted igniting the fire of communalism. The speech, which he delivered at Hazratbal soon after his release, was full of anti-India and separatist contents. Riots broke out after the speech. One person was killed and several were injured. Those arrested in connection with the Hazratbal riots included three former legislators and one former Deputy Minister.

The Bakshi gave full liberty to Sheikh Abdullah to say and do anything but he was shadowed by the intelligence sleuths. These intelligence sleuths kept tape recorders in their pockets and attended all the functions of the Sheikh and even shouted slogans in favour of the Sheikh in rallies, congregations and processions. When ample proof was collected regarding the Sheikh's links with Pakistan and of his speeches and activities, the Bakshi rearrested Sheikh Abdullah. The entire matter relating to the conspiracy of the Sheikh for joining hands with Pakistan was submitted to Nehru alongwith documentary evidence. Pt. Nehru was taken aback while listening to the tapes and while going through the letters of Sheikh Abdullah. He approved launching of a case against the Sheikh. The Kashmir conspiracy case was launched against Sheikh Abdullah, Mirza Afzal Beg and 22 other people on charge of having conspired with Pakistan. In order to understand the gravity of the case pertaining to treason against India and link-up with a foreign country the court hearing of March 14, 1959 is worth mentioning.

Based on Notes by the Accused
Opening Address delivered by Mr. G.S. Pathak
for the prosecution in the court
on 14th March, 1959.

The accused are charged under section 121-A, R.P.C and 120-B, read with Rule 32 and Rule 33 of the Security Rules.

Conspiracy to overawe the Government is a crime of very serious nature. It has dangerous effects on society. Most of the

accused are well educated and have been holding positions of responsibility. This enhances the degree of their crime.

Mr. Beg : According to the High Court Ruling there should be no personal remarks. The High Court Ruling should be respected.

Mr. Nageshwar Prashad : The case has been opened and the proceedings of the Court should continue as per practice. In case the accused do not wish to listen they should not interfere in the proceedings.

Court : The defence counsel should not interfere.

Sheikh Abdullah : Please begin your cock and bull story.

Mr. Pathak : In brief, between 9th of August 1953 and 29th April, 1958, the accused and their accomplices both inside and outside the state collaborated with Pakistani officials to overthrow the Government with violence. Their intention was to overthrow the Government and to annex the state with Pakistan through the process to spread hatred in the masses against the Government.

(2) To start communal riots thereby endangering life and property of the masses.

(3) To recruit volunteers in order to make the conspiracy successful.

Begum Sheikh Abdullah, Mr. Beg, Chikkan, Gilani and Ali Shah received large amount of money from Pakistan for this purpose. They also received type-writers and lithomachines and literature for propaganda purposes. Besides explosives were received from Pakistan for blowing up bridges, factories, military installations, mosques, temples and Gurdwaras, so that the Government machinery may be paralysed People were trained in Pakistan to come and create havoc here. According to law, conspiracy can take place between two or more persons. It is not necessary that the conspiracy may be translated into action. The very agreement between the conspirators is sufficient. Conspiracies are hatched in dark and secretly and, therefore, direct evidence to prove them is not necessary. If reasonable circumstantial evidence of two persons conspiring is available, the conspiracy is proved. In a conspiracy some people may be collecting funds, some may be carrying on propaganda,

while others may be throwing bombs. All are equally guilty and it is not necessary that all should know each other. I shall now proceed to touch on the salient facts of the case.

Firstly, we have to see whether the charges brought up can be proved. The first and foremost thing is the security of the State for which no heed can be paid to the high station or position of any one. Pakistan attacked this state in 1947 and used various means for it. When they failed in their mission, they started indirect aggression and conspiracy. For this purpose they opened up centres at Rawalakot, Lepa, Mori Maidan and Hillan near the cease-fire line. These centres received instructions from Rawalpindi. The prosecution will prove that the conspirators had contact with these agencies. Their object was to collect military intelligence, launch propaganda and spread communal hatred.

Sheikh Abdullah was the forerunner of this conspiracy. He was removed from the office of the Chief Minister and Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. who was the Deputy leader, has appointed to that office. On 9th of August, 1953 Sheikh Abdullah was placed under detention. This was a great blow to him and he was enraged, which is apparent from his speeches of January 1958 wherein he was used abusive language against Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. and other Government officials and called them goondas and traitors. The Sheikh could not brook any opposition and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad became the object of his hatred and anger.

Beg : What is the meaning of the discourse ? Is there no respect for the High Court's orders ?

Court : I will hear their points of view and when your turn comes, you will also be heard.

Beg : The correct time for my reply was immediately after the address, which you have turned down. What I mean is how can I stay quiet when our character is being attacked. Great injustice has been done to us.

Court : Please be patient.

Beg : How can I be patient with abuses being hurled upon me. The intention is to spread hatred amongst the masses against us with this propaganda through newspapers. Justice

demands that this should be stopped or else I should be allowed to reply the address straightaway.

Court : If the prosecution does not produce evidence in support of this contention. I shall stop it.

Beg : Without my reply, their evidence shall be one-sided, which is unjust.

Mr. Pathak : Sheikh Abdullah was perturbed over the loss of his office and being angered with his Deputy, who formed the next Government, he decided to overthrow him. Because he could not do so by constitutional means, he decided upon a course of criminal actions, for which he obtained support from Pakistan which suited that country. Sheikh Abdullah was an easy ally for them and he and his colleagues conspired with Pakistani Agents to overthrow the Government through criminal pressure. I shall now give details of events which are very lengthy.

In October 1953, Begum Abdullah kept up a correspondence with Major Asgar Ali Shah. Pir Ata Mohammad worked as a messenger. The Begum asked for explosives, bombs, lithomachines etc. Upto October 24, 1953, and on other occasions also, she stayed with Sheikh Abdullah at Udhampur Jail. According to prosecution, the Sheikh and the Begum decided to take steps in the conspiracy. On her return from her meeting with the Sheikh, the Begum replied to Asgar Ali Shah's letter. Maqbool Naik brought back a reply informing the Begum that necessary substance would be provided.

All this occurred at Nihalpura. Pir Ataullah was arrested at Baramulla on November 25, 1953 with a letter of the Begum. The letter is written in English and is like a puzzle. The names of the writer and the addresses have been kept secret. The word G.K. firm has been used for Pakistan and Khwaja firm for herself. The word "anoliekin" has been used for Pir Ata Mohammad. All these names are fictitious so that their innocence may be pleaded in an emergency. The Begum was doing all this in consultation with her husband. On 22-11-1953 Akbar Baksh, agent of Hillan agency, was arrested at Tangmarg and two letters were recovered from him. One was written by Asgar Ali Shah from Karachi, and the other was also written

by him under the name of Hasan Joo, to the address of Ghulam Mohammad Dar Lieutant. The first letter was addressed to Akbar Baksh asking him to work up a friendship with Mr. Abdul Gani and Sardar so that a mutiny may be organised in the militia through Ghulam Mohammad Dar. Some other people will come to Ghulam Mohammad Dar with some proposals. Action may be taken on whichever of these proposals are acceptable. A War Council was set up on the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah and the accused were its members. Violence was their creed and rumours were being spread against the Government. For example it was said that men and women were attacked while saying their prayers and that the Indian Police and Army entered into a shrine with their boots on and attacked Muslims offering their prayers. The posters, pamphlets and newspapers issued by the War Council show that this party was bent upon war mongering and violence. As an example, a poster issued on 20-10-58 reads "Time has come when the traitor Bakshi will have to pay for his deeds. He has stopped Muslims from offering prayers, desecrated a holy shrine and opened fire on Muslims. All Muslims should collect in the shrine and finish off Bakshi. Bakshi is an agent of India; he is vile, a traitor and ungrateful. The world spurns him".

The activities of the War Council continued. Pamphlets and posters also continued. One poster titled Abdullah Day carried the slogans, "Abdullah Zindabad and Pakistan Zindabad". The Prime Minister of India riding a donkey and followed by Indian Army was shown leaving Kashmir. This poster was recovered from the house of Ghulam Ahmed Sheri who is an important member of the War Council. Another poster reads as follows :—

"Crusaders, your success is near at hand. The days of the traitors are over. They will not get a yard of earth for their graves even. The Indian Army will soon go away. The hour of their death has arrived. Traitors, even your vily patron saint Nehru has realised the certainty of your death. Pakistan has entered into a pact with America. Traitors shall soon meet their end."

These contents of the posters were broadcast in order to spread hatred against the Government and the Indian Army.

All that was being done was within the knowledge of Sheikh Abdullah. During this period Mohammad Amin wrote a letter to the Sheikh which includes these words : "We have started a crusade of posters against the traitors. "This letter gives a detailed account of the achievements of the War Council. What can the authors of such posters and propaganda mean except to spread hatred against the Government and to provoke communal riots among the illiterate masses and to create chaos in the country ? In the middle of 1954 Mirza Afzal Beg and Khwaja Ali Shah, who was a commissioner and both of whom held in high positions, were lodged in Kud Jail. They collaborated with subordinate staff of the jail, by which means the conspirators kept up correspondence with Pakistan officials. Among these people, Parmanand used to take letters to Maqbool Gilani who saw them through to Asgar Shah at Hillan Agency. Sometimes visitors and relatives of detenues also did these jobs. During this time a special occurrence that took place was that Gulzar Khan who used to collect Military intelligence through Mirza Afzal Beg and his relatives was arrested.

After the arrest of Pir Ata Mohammad and Akbar Baksh, one Mehraj Din was reçruited for this work. Hillan Agency used him for conveying literature and funds to Maqbool Gilani. On November 21, 1955 a lot of papers were recovered which showed that a litho-machine was sent to Maqbool Gilani for purposes of printing inflammatory propaganda, statements and news-sheets. On November 29, 1954, Mirza Afzal Beg was released. The conspirators received an incentive with his ability. A letter was recovered from Miraj Din. It was addressed to Mirza Afzal Beg and contained fictitious names. It was written by Keramat Hassan; a Pakistani police officer and was addressed to Ibraheem, and described Miraj Din as Azad. This letter is full of puzzles and contained the following :—

"Lala Mehar Chand is going abroad, which will create hindrances to our business. But it is gratifying that Israil has come out, for he can carry on the business. Israil must be

consulted. I am sending a separate letter for him. He should be consulted."

According to the code list recovered, Mehar Chand is Maqbool Gilani who worked between Kud Jail and Pakistan. Since Maqbool Gilani was going for Haj Pilgrimage, it was feared that work would be hampered. Mr. Beg was called Israil. Mr. Beg has used various names during this conspiracy. At that time Mohd. Khan of Rawalpindi was known as Ibraheem Khan. This letter shows Mr. Beg's relationship with Pakistan. We shall prove with evidence that Pakistan and people here worked in collaboration, Maqbool Gilani received Litho-machine through Sanaullah towards the end of 1955 and used it for his poster warfare, for inciting the public to violence, hurling abuses and spreading false rumours against the state Police, and the Indian Government and the Army.

The second letter from Khan Mohd. Khan to Miraj Din shows that "Malichh" means Indian Army and Sher Mohammad Khan means Pakistan. This letter also enquires as to what other kind of assistance is needed . A sample poster is also enclosed in which the Indian Army has been asked to quit Kashmir and the public has been advised to follow Pakistan, and posters were made according to the instructions.

According to Miraj Din's letter, Mr. Beg was complying with the instructions and he set up an Awami War Council. Another poster shows Chikkan asking the Indian Army to quit Kashmir. Another letter was seized which shows that Mr. Mohammad Afzal Beg was released on 29th November, 1954, was a keen worker and was prosecuting with ability.

On July, 1955, Ataullah Beg brought a letter to Afzal Beg and conveyed him some instructions verbally. After that the Plebiscite Front was formed on Pakistan's advice. Its name was a camouflage. In reality, it carried on the work of the War Council and its object was to bring about the overthrow of the Government.

Before the formation of the Plebiscite Front, these people worked in the name of the War Council which had an underground character. The name was changed to carry on the

work openly. But there was no change in its object or programme. Poster campaign, threats, incitements to violence and provocative propaganda was carried on a bigger scale through the Plebiscite Front.

One letter dated October 16, 1955, was seized from Khawaja Tajuddin. It is stated therein "literature has been sent. Get letters from Afzal Beg and Begum". On November 1955 Miraj Din was searched and a code-list along with this letter was recovered. These letters will be produced in the court as documentary evidence. All this work went on under the directions of Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg.

The Plebiscite Front had very small income and its expenses were so heavy that they could be met only from Pakistan. Much money was not collected in the state. Another letter of Pakistan Agency has been seized in which material for broadcast over the Azad Kashmir Radio and for propaganda in foreign countries has been asked for as also weekly reports of work.

Sajjawal Khan was incharge of Hillan Agency after the formation of the Plebiscite Front. A meeting was held with Sajjawal Khan at which Ali Shah, Pir Maqbool and Sofi Mohd. Akbar were present. At that time "penicillin" was used as substitute for currency. Sajjawal Khan had a secret meeting with Beg Sahib and had long talks with him on August 23, 1955.

The correspondence showed that a good deal of money came from Pakistan as it had great interest in the Plebiscite Front. They received instructions and advice from there and information was sent from here. Posters and leaflets were printed according to Pakistan's advice. In short there was regular cooperation between Pakistan and Conspirators. It will be proved through evidence that the Plebiscite Front was formed in consultation with Pakistan.

Meetings were held between the conspirators where as letters and circulars from Sheikh Abdullah were read and the instructions carried out.

In October 1955, Mohiuddin Zargar, Acting President of the Plebiscite Front, received Rs. 7,000. At that time Sannaullah Khan was arrested and Begum Abdullah's letter was recovered.

Rs. 15,000 were sent to Sofi Mohd. Akbar and it was directed that receipt should be secured from Beg Sahib and sent.

1956 Incidents

Literature and poster campaign continued. The accused Chikkan went to Lahore ostensibly for a cricket match and brought Rs. 1,00,000 from Pakistan officials. The important incidents of the period are :—

A letter from Khawaja Ali Shah to Sheikh Abdullah saying :—

"Time for bold and open action has come".

There were some other letters along with this letter which had come from Pakistan. According to these Wafa was Chikkan's name— "Begum M.M.N. was Madre Meharban". In this letter Ali Shah suggests formation of a volunteer corps and seeks advice in the matter. Evidently Pakistan was also interested in its gain, hence Ali Shah suggests the formation of volunteers' corps. Beg in his reply sent under the name of Nizamuddin, and using Assadullah for Sheikh Abdullah, says, "a detailed letter has been sent to Pakistan by Asad Sahib". The letter is in reply to Niazi (Khan Mohd. Khan). At that time Sheikh Sahib, Chikkan Sahib and Beg Sahib directly corresponded with one another.

On the search of Mirza Afzal Beg a letter from the accused Mir Ghulam Rasool was recovered in which reference was made to Sheikh Sahib to write to the U.N.O. According to this letter, he was advised to send a copy of the original letter. This letter was drafted in consultation with Pakistan and was smuggled into Pakistan. Copies of it were distributed in New York. The purpose behind the advice for a copy was that there should be no proof of correspondence from inside the Jail.

The letter recovered from Afzal Beg shows that it was intended to have recourse to violence now. It was written in the letter. "A pair of scissors has arrived but there are no gardeners for its use". Apparently a "pair of scissors" meant "subversive activities".

Mr. Beg : The prosecution counsel is drawing inferences

which is court's job, I strongly object to this. This is contrary to the rules. The Court should abide by the High Court's decision.

Mr. Pathak : The pair of scissors implied weapons of destruction and the gardeners, men who would use them and who had to come from Pakistan.

One letter was sent by Chikkan accused in the name of Wahab Butt to Afzal Beg in Kud Jail in the name of Nizamuddin. It says that G.B. is working boldly. G.B. means Ghulam Rasool. Such like letters show that Sheikh Abdullah was working with the conspirators outside through his sons and visitors.

The conspirators were attempting to create terror among the people. Arms and ammunition were received from Pakistan during this period. In 1956 Sajjawal Khan brought some arms to Srinagar. The object was outwardly to keep Sheikh Abdullah aloof from the Plebiscite Front and its activities. At that time one group of the party would keep its activities secret from the other group. All these illegal measures were adopted to end the Government and restore Sheikh Abdullah to premiership. This letter was written by Mohd. Amin to Khawaja Ali Shah.

At that time assistance of every kind and financial assistance was received from Pakistan. A boy, Abdul Aziz Parwana, went to Pakistan to secure the consent of his parents to marry his fiance. A wrong use of it was made and he used to bring money and weapons of destruction. The other conspirators worked outside the Jail. Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues sent instructions from inside the Jail. Sheikh Abdullah in his circulars dwelt upon religious matters and incited people to violence against the present Government to bring about a rebellion in the state.

1957 Incidents

The activities increased, Sheikh Abdullah's circulars continued to be issued on Islamic festivals in particular, such things were written as would incite the people against the Government. The workers distributed leaflets outside. Sheikh Sahib provided provocation to the people quoting from the religious books. The letters of the time show that considerable

money has been received from Pakistan.

On April 14, 1957 Afzal Beg wrote a letter to Khan Mohd. Khan (Niazi). The letter referred to the meeting of August 23 with that officer. It is written therein that money has reached Ali Shah. It is further said "give sixty thousand rupees to Ghulam Mohd. Chikkan (Husain Sahib). He brought the huge amount from Pakistan afterwards. It is further written that Rs. 30,000 has been sent. In this reference is made to the first receipt and Bunglow. This money was brought by Mohd. Nazir accused on May 7, 1957. One letter was sent by Chikkan to Niazi. It is said therein that code has been changed. Instead of Hakim, Niazi and Nizamudin, Iqbal, Rafiqi and Mumtaz should be used. In August 1957 many letters were exchanged between Iqbal and Rafiqi. It was written therein that the letters should be written frequently.

In August 1957 Begum Sheikh Abdullah sent a receipt for Rs. 10,000 in her own hand in the pseudo name of "Sister". In October 1956 Niazi wrote to Begum Abdullah "Respected sister, got receipt for Rs. 10,000 from you but no detailed letter. No letter has been received from the brother to the letter sent through other means. The reply is awaited. I am sending a copy of the letter. Please get a reply sent.

The accompanying letter referred to the letter addressed to the members of the Security Council and said that if Sheikh Abdullah desired to be personally present in the Security Council every effort therefor will be made. It was further written that after coming out he would do such work as was being done in other countries. Sheikh Abdullah wrote back: "The detention is serving the purpose. If I am released I will do my best to carry out the work".

On October 10, 1957 Begum Abdullah wrote a receipt for Rs. 20,000 in her own hand. Niazi sent the money to Begum Sheikh Abdullah and wrote to the bearer that the money should be delivered to Begum. On May 1, 1958 receipt for 20 dozen eggs which is Rs. 19, 700 is sent. In August 1958 receipt for five dozen eggs is given. In November, 1958 Rs. 20,000 were sent for defence.

In the middle of 1957 the conspirators indulged in activities which increased disorder and gave practical form to violence. The letter which Ghulam Rasool wrote to Mirza Afzal Beg said "Haider Khan's men came last week. Pakistan wants to come out openly. The gardener has not come with the goods and the pair of scissors". The reference was Shakhtarashi. The meaning is clear.

On June 13, 1957 mines, booby traps and bombs started arriving. A bomb explosion took place outside Palladium cinema, owned by a Sikh, on June 13, 1957. It was written in the letter that Sardar Sahib should be contacted. Another explosion took place on Alocha Pul. Pakistan newspapers were pasted there. On July 12, 1957 explosive material was recovered from Parwana. A bomb was planted in ISC truck. A passer by picked up a booby trap and was blown to pieces. Time bombs were planted on July 23, 1957 in village Tath which killed two villagers. On September 8, 1957 a bomb explosion took place in Maisuma mosque near the washing place and two persons were killed. The object was to bring the Government to disgrace through communal rioting. On September 24, 1957 a bomb exploded in Gurdwara Darampura. On November 17, 1957 bomb exploded in a temple damaged the "shivling".

Bagh Ali and Ismail were arrested. They had bombs with Pakistan markings. The persons arrested stated that these bombs had been sent by Sajjawal Khan. All these bombs were used in 1957 and the ammunition recovered is for army use only and is not common place. On May 25, 1957 some papers were recovered from Zaman Parrey and on May 26, 1957 from the residence of Mirza Afzal Beg and Mirza Ghulam Qadir Beg. On December 11, 1957 a note-book was recovered from the residence of Pir Abdul Ghani in which there were copies of Sheikh Abdullah's letters. A register giving details about Sheikh's letters was also recovered.

In January 1958, Sheikh Abdullah delivered speeches in mosques. He was arrested on April 29, 1958 and two letters were recovered. One recorded the progress of volunteer corps and the other was a letter from the Plebiscite Front which had corrections made thereon in Sheikh Abdullah's hand.

Some witnesses have been accomplices in the crime and some not. Some witnesses are there in regard to searches, code, bombs, loss of life and other evidence.

All this has been stated by way of instances.

Sheikh Abdullah : Is that all Mr. Pathak ? You have solved the Kashmir problem.

(Excerpts from the Kashmir Conspiracy case, compiled by Sh. Ghulam Rasool Kochak)

This case continued for six years. There was an open discussion on all the charges against the Sheikh. The Government had to spend Rs. three corers on the case. The Sheikh's expenses were met by his woman friend, Mridulla Sarabai, who was the daughter of the owner of the Bombay-based famous industry "Sarabai Chemicals". The case started from May 21, 1958. The Sheikh and his collegues raised unnecessary hurdles in order to prolong the case. When the conspiracy was confirmed and charges against all the accused were established the Lower Court referred the case for hearing to the Sessions court.

Nehru remained highly upset over the conspiracy Case. He did not want the Sheikh to be punished for sedition. People in the entire country were keen to hear the verdict on this prolonged case which was not only costly but had national importance. Suddenly Nehru and G.M. Sadiq decided to withdraw the case and released Sheikh Abdullah on April 8, 1964. The Sheikh went on a tour of Pakistan in the first week of May.

Political motive Sheikh's Haj pilgrimage

Sheikh Abdullah and his wife went on a Haj pilgrimage in February 1965. He utilised this pilgrimage for propagating his political views. During this Haj pilgrimage the Sheikh, through foreign newspapers, tried his best to create an opinion against India and remained engaged in seeking support for the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. When the Sheikh reached Cairo, capital of Egypt, he made an appeal, through a press conference, to President Nasser to use his international political influence for merging the divided Kashmir into one "independent" Kashmir. In 1965 the Sheikh demanded that the

Kashmir issue be raised in the Afro-Asian Conference which was organised in Algeria. This tour of Sheikh Abdullah made the position of India further ridiculous in the international circles.

Mirza Afzal Beg, prominent leader of the Plebiscite Front and co-accused in the Kashmir conspiracy case, too was with the Sheikh during this foreign trip. The two, while carrying out their propaganda against India, appealed to the countries of the world that they should decide the fate of Kashmir under the supervision of the United Nations. It has become a daily routine for them to launch anti-India campaign. During the middle of March, 1965 he also had a meeting with Chinese Prime Minister, Chou-En-lai. Those days the diplomatic relations between India and China had been snapped. Therefore, the Government of India immediately cancelled his passport. When he returned, he was arrested on Delhi airport. He was released on December 8, 1967.

Sheikh's undermind

After three days of his release, Sheikh Abdullah wrote a letter to one of his friends and a well-known leader, Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed Kashmiri which gives an insight to the mind of the Sheikh. A copy of this letter has been included by Mr. Y.D. Gundeviya, ICS(Retd.) in his book "the Testament of Sheikh". The contents of the latter are :—

3, Kotla Lane,
New Delhi,
11 December, 1967

Respected Sir,

May you have God's protection and blessings. Your congratulatory letter for my birthday with prayers for my long life has been received. Many thanks for the same.

To me life is a journey which can be travelled in two ways. One can journey through it either as a slave to his wishes or as an obedient servant of God. In 1953 I had to decide which of the two ways I should adopt for myself. On one side people were beckoning to me to live a life of comfort, luxury, affluence and

authority at the cost of my conscience. They were asking me forget my ideals of self-determination and the rights of the people of Kashmir to govern themselves and to barter away rights of Kashmiris which have trampled on by rulers for hundreds of years. On the other side, the holy Koran was warning me in God's own voice not to reject God's path and not to fall prey to the comforts of life.

Wise men had been telling me that the promises of men have no value : they can be broken at will. But on the other hand, God's direction to be faithful and loyal was calling upon me to fulfil my promises to the people at all costs. There was a great deal of mental conflict for me in those days. But finally I decided that at no cost could I barter away the inherent right of the Kashmiris for self-determination. For centuries Kashmiris have been deprived of their rights. Whoever the ruler from outside Kashmir, he treated the Kashmiris harshly and drove them like cattle. In 1931 under my leadership, the Kashmiris awakened and with one mind and one voice, adopted the slogan "It is the right of Kashmiri people to form their own Government". They were willing to shed their blood throughout Kashmir for this ideal. Interpreting their wishes, I had stated in a court of law in my trial that I was leading a movement for self-rule in Kashmir.

For a very long time Kashmir has attracted people by its natural beauty, by art and industry of the Kashmiri artisans. Nature has enriched the land and attracted people from many nations. But if Kashmir has been such an object of attraction for people from outside, how much more is it for the Kashmiri who have been born in this beautiful setting.

In spite of this rich blessings of Nature, the people of Kashmir are poor and hungry. Their faces are emaciated and they have no hopes for the future. Their eyes are dull and without light. Those who sympathise with them are pained to see their pitiful condition.

After concerted efforts for many years, in 1947, the whole world accepted as fair and just their demand for self-determination. It would have been mean on my part to have bartered away the freedom of the people at Kashmir for my personal gain

and high office.

I had realised much earlier that the path to truth was full of thorns and privations but with my strong faith in God, I adopted that path. Does not the Quran say : "He is the Master of East and West. No other person except God is worthy of our worship. Make Him your guide and your beacon light" ?

I feel even today that my decision was right. It is difficult to express what mental satisfaction I had by this decision. From August 9, 1953 to this day when more than fourteen years have elapsed, countless manoeuvres and attacks have been launched against me to gag the voice of truth and justice but all their attempts have failed. The heart of every man in Kashmir, when it beats, seems to say "Kashmir is our land. We shall decide our own fate".

The difficulties in our way persist but the destination is clear. The need of the hour is that we should continue our efforts unabated and should put our foot forward with firm conviction. God willing success will be ours.

May God give us faith and will to act.

Yours sincerely
Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah

No place for India in Sheikh's mind

After this letter the Sheikh toured many parts of the country and enlightened Kashmiri Muslims on the right of self-determination. On January 12, 1968 the Sheikh addressed a meeting of Kashmiri traders in Ashoka Hotel in Delhi.

He said : "When we launched our agitation, we had declared that Kashmir is our motherland and only Kashmiris alone can decide its future. Our slogans "Kashmir belongs to Kashmiris, self-determination is the right of people of Kashmir" took roots in the vision of Kashmiris and they became dear to them. The idea of self-determination later spread to other states in the country. But it started from Kashmir. The principle of self-determination is the basis of the UN Charter which has been accepted by majority of countries. Kashmiris have been deprived of this right.

But I am steadfast in my views. This right could not be snatched either by India or by Pakistan. We have been deprived of this right, right from the beginning and we launched the agitation for the restoration of this right to us".

It is quite evident that Sheikh Sahib is intoxicated by Kashmir, Kashmiri and his ambition for power. In his mind there had been no place for India. While expressing his ideas about independent Kashmir, he has placed India and Pakistan in the same pans of the balance.

Mr. Gundeviya has given some other excerpts from the Sheikh's speeches.

The Sheikh said, "If we have to finish our miseries and difficulties, we have to improve our character. Misfortunes do come definitely in the way, but the courageous people should face them boldly. How long can the Muslims remain unemployed ? How long can they depend on uncertain assurances ? Without good character, we cannot give the message of unity and amity to the world.

We are continuing with our agitation against injustice in Kashmir. But we are not ignorant and unaware of the difficulties of the Indian Muslims. We will not take any step which will harm their interests. But we will not surrender before any type of blackmail. It is the right of the Indian Muslims to live in their motherland but this right is not based on Kashmir's accession to India. The Indian Muslims should be capable of saying that if Kashmiris accede to India, it is welcome and if they do not do so, it is their wish".

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Sadiq, Qasim, Gulshah and Farooq

All these four harboured the desire of separatist Islamic state, during their period of Chief Ministership, and they supported it. After Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Ghulam Mohd. Sadiq was installed as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir in February 1964. During his time the State witnessed many political changes. The nomenclatures of Sadr-i-Riyasat and the Prime Minister were changed to Governor and the Chief Minister respectively. As a result of the efforts of Sadiq, the National Conference was merged with the Indian National Congress. The Praja Parishad Party had already merged with Jan Sangh. Sadiq adopted a policy of liberalisation towards Sheikh Abdullah. On the other side the Sheikh had not abandoned his old policy and activities and naturally he followed the same old path.

Sadiq : first a Muslim then an Indian

The outwardly liberal Sadiq was a religious bigot to the core. He was first a Muslim than a Kashmiri, an Indian and an administrator later. He would evince interest in the conversion of Hindus to Muslims. Though he did not encourage forcible

conversion, he adopted such policies as would force the terrorised and scared Hindu society to think of accepting Islam. For the first time reservations on the basis of sects was ordered in Kashmir. In the Government services 70 per cent seats were reserved for the Muslims. Those people who, after wearing the, glasses of appeasement, project Sadiq as a secular and a nationalist should put off these glasses by reading the editorials in Pratap (October 1966), published from New Delhi, and Nav Jeevan (October 1966), published from Srinagar.

"It is said that conditions were being created in Jammu and Kashmir which could compel Hindus and Sikhs to abandon their religion. All India Dayanand Salvation Mission, Hoshiarpur, receives a letter from Maharaj Gunj, Srinagar, saying that one Brahmin girl was marrying a Muslim. And in Anantnag, one Sikh, 20 Hindus and three Hindu girls were adopting Islam. If anyone accepts religious conversion willingly, it cannot be opposed strongly. But when the Government itself creates such conditions as will make them feel that without religious conversion they could not get justice, it is difficult to tolerate. The reality is that these boys and girls were desirous of seeking admission in medical and engineering colleges. The Government had formulated a policy under which a third class Muslim was equated with a first class Hindu and still the former would get priority. As a result of it, these boys and girls could think of no other option except religious conversion for securing admission in the colleges. Their fault was that they were meritorious and born in Hindu families. That is why they are facing this sort of treatment".

The names of those Hindu candidates who were being given injustice were published in these two newspapers. But Sadiq was not prepared to change his intentions and his policies. He made full efforts to spoil the career and the future of the Hindu Kashmiris. The editorial says :

"Sadiq is befooling Congressmen in Delhi in a carefree mood. He has decided to project Kashmir in front of the world as a unique example of secularism. But the meaning of his secularism is to carry out religious conversion of Hindu students for the sake of admission in schools and colleges. If there is discrimination between a Hindu and a Muslim at the

time of admission in engineering and medical colleges who will then have confidence in the capabilities of the students later ? How can they be trusted ? The Congressmen often repeat that instead of the British policy of reservation on the basis of population, encouragement was now given to merit. But what is the real picture, I have given an instance of it. I believe that there is no ignoble a thing as conversion out of helplessness which defames him. Whatever is happening in Kashmir will not only defame the converted boys and girls but also create a situation in which people will feel unsafe in the hands of the doctors whose standard has been quite poor".

Sadiq's patronage to Plebiscite Front

The anti-India activities of the Plebiscite Front received Sadiq's support and blessings. A resolution opposing Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India was adopted at a one-day convention of the Front. The Government had made available facilities for the members of the Front and in organising the convention. The Sadiq had sold a Government car to the Sheikh at cheap rates in order to enable him to tour the entire valley for mobilising support for the convention. As a result of these activities the nationalist forces in Kashmir received a heavy setback.

Behind the merger of the National Conference with the Congress by Sadiq was his political ambition. He wanted to kill two birds with one stone : he would like to sideline the Baskhi and win the support of the Centre.

As a result of the communal poison having been spread by the leaders of the Plebiscite Front, some Muslim youths attacked the houses of Hindus at Chinkral Mohalla, in Srinagar, in September 1964. This attack assumed the shape of violence. The houses were looted. Women were dragged out of their houses and abused. But the Government headed by Sadiq did not take any step. Rioters were not arrested. It was during the Sadiq regime that one minor Hindu girl, Parmeshwari, was converted to Islam forcibly and was married to a Muslim youth and her name was changed to Parveen Akhtar. The Sadiq Government remained reticent on these events.

There was complete understanding among the anti-national elements, the leaders of the Plebiscite Front and the Sadiq Government. The three had the same goal of teasing Hindus in order to force them to quit Kashmir. Discrimination had reached such a stage. That an anti-national Muslim was given preference to a nationalist Hindu. The Hindus united and launched an agitation against this discrimination and atrocities. The doors of the Centre were knocked but they did not get justice from anywhere. It may be mentioned here that Kashmiri pandit leaders, belonging to the Bakshi faction of the National Conference and the Indian National Congress, supported the centre fully in curbing this agitation.

Mir Qasim

After G.M. Sadiq, Mir Qasim remained Chief Minister for four years. Since he was not a clever player of politics, he could not succeed in having a special control on the administration and the state's politics. During his rule, Sheikh Sahib and his colleagues carried out carefully their activities for giving practical shape to their desire of carving out an Independent Kashmir. But after the 1971 Indo-Pak conflict, which resulted in the defeat of Pakistan and birth of Bangladesh, Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues changed their stance. They re-started their rote that Kashmir's accession to India being final was an inseparable part of India.

Indira reinstalls Sheikh as Chief Minister

The then Prime Minister of India, Mrs Indira Gandhi, whose political attitude was governed by Nehru's policies, decided to woo and promote Sheikh Abdullah. She extended her hand of friendship to the Shiekh. As an opportunist the Sheikh thought it better for his interests to accept her offer. There were two reasons responsible for the Sheikh to cover his separatist face with the mask of nationalism : One, the back of his patron, Pakistan, had been broken in the 1971-war. Secondly, he had old friendship with Indira Gandhi when he was close to the Nehru family. Therefore, the Sheikh initiated protracted talks with Indira Gandhi. These friendly parleys continued for three

years. During this period Indira went on removing the anti-nationalist spots from the face of the Sheikh. In the end the plastic surgery of these friendly talks covered the spots of communalism on the face of the Sheikh and the Kashmir Accord was born.

The agreement reached between Mirza Afzal Beg and Parthasarthy was implemented on February 24, 1975. Mir Qasim resigned, the Congress party elected Sheikh Abdullah as its leader and the Chief Minister. Yesterday's anti-national became today a nationalist and this is the result of duplicity. The man who was tried for sedition was now given the power in the State.

Soon after assuming power, Sheikh Sahib started revealing his old face. By bringing the Sheikh back to power, the Government of India spoiled the situation in Kashmir again. Hindus in Kashmir became the victim of the dual policy of the Sheikh. By teasing Hindus, the Muslim majority can be won over and kept united. Sheikh Abdullah's desire was to convert Kashmir to a completely Muslim region and Jammu to a Muslim majority area. In order to achieve this objective, the Sheikh introduced a dangerous and anti-Hindu bill in the State Assembly. The meaning of the Resettlement Bill was to invite those Muslims who had gone to Pakistan at the time of the partition, back to Kashmir.

Dangerous Resettlement Bill

"Why this Resettlement Bill" named booklet has written in clear terms : its purpose was to remove the constitutional difficulties which had created hurdles for the people of the state and in the reunion of the two parts of Kashmir. Now the people of the state would have facility in returning to the state. The Sheikh wanted to cause cracks in the walls of the Kashmir Accord by building pressure on Delhi through the crisis generated by the bill. He wanted to merge the Muslim areas of Poonch and Rajouri in order to carve out Greater Kashmir for which he wanted to prepare the background. The Sheikh also utilised this platform for establishing a politically strong base for his son, Dr. Farooq Abdullah.

The Bill was adopted by the Assembly but the Governor rejected it. Behind this Bill lay the dangerous design of the Sheikh. His idea was to increase the population of Muslims in the state and inflate the number of his supporters in order to secure Independent Kashmir. The purpose of the Bill, a product of the mind of the Sheikh, can be understood by the pain of those people who have been deprived of the simple rights of citizens. Those Hindus who were uprooted from Pakistan during the time of the partition have not been able to become citizens of Jammu and Kashmir. They have neither the right to exercise their franchise, nor buy land nor construct a house in the state.

This evil design was started with Sheikh becoming the Prime Minister and these schemes were restarted with his becoming the Chief Minister now.

Hunger for power only

Sheikh fully supported one secessionist organisation "Al Fatah" in Kashmir. Its 30 activists, who were in Jail on charge of sedition, were released after Sheikh Abdullah withdrew the cases against them. The organisation like the Jamait-e-Islamic too received his support. The Sheikh disbanded the Plebiscite Front and merged it with the National Conference in order to wear a nationalist mask on its anti-national activities. The anti-defection law was enacted in such a way as would ensure supremacy of his political group.

The Sheikh taught similar things to the posterity. Politicking through inciting religious sentiments and reach the goal of power through this political ladder. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Sheikh was neither an Indian nor a Pakistani. Neither was he a Kashmiri nor a true Muslim. He was a politician hungry for power. That is why he was changing his stance repeatedly to remain the Chief Minister. He played his politics in order to have the Chief Minister's seat for his son, Dr Farooq Abdullah, a minister's post for his son-in-law, Gulshah, and a seat in the Lok Sabha for his wife, Begum Abdullah. He succeeded, during his lifetime, in installing Dr. Farooq Abdullah as President of the National Conference.

Farooq too on the same track

In September 1982 Dr. Farooq Abdullah became the Chief Minister. Farooq was not even distantly connected with the politics of the State and that of India. Brought up in the western traditions, he had no idea even of his religion. Before becoming the Chief Minister, major portion of his life had been spent in London. He had secured even the British citizenship. He had links with the people of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front which was struggling for independence of Kashmir. Farooq had secret relations with many leaders of the JKLF with whom he used to hold secret confabulations. He had established contact with the JKLF Chief, Amanullah Khan, terrorist leader, Hashim Qureshi, and the executed Maqbool Butt.

In 1974 Farooq Abdullah visited Pakistan and Pakistan occupied Kashmir on the invitation of the JKLF leaders. During this visit the had series of meetings with prominent leaders of the Liberation Front and had been influenced by Abdul Khaki Ansari, an influential leader, and pledged his loyalty and friendship for Pakistan. His secret parleys with Pakistani leader, Sikender Hayat Khan, and Benazir Bhutto found prominent place in the newspapers.

Farooq Sahib is, like his father, adept in concealing his face. Like Sheikh Abdullah, he too wore the mask of an Indian nationalist, 'Kashmir an integral part of India', alliance with Congress, with powerful Indira Gandhi and then young Rajiv Gandhi. And he kept on wearing the mask as per the requirement of the time.

He needed the patronage of the Congress for maintaining the secrecy of his secret links with leaders of the Liberation Front and pro-Pakistan elements in order to give practical shape to Sheikh Abdullah's dream of an independent Kashmir. Just as Sheikh Abdullah, under the patronage of Pt. Nehru, painted his treacherous face with nationalism and kept on changing his stance, similarly Farooq Abdullah too adopted the policy of sycophancy towards Indira Gandhi, Rajiv and other leaders of the Congress. He utilised the Congress leaders of Jammu and Kashmir for reaching the highest circles in the party in Delhi. That time he cultivated the Pradesh Congress

Chief, Mufti Mohd. Syed, and his Deputy, Ghulam Rasool Kar.

Farooq shuts his eyes towards infiltration

In Kashmir too he adopted a similar policy and forged friendship with Chairman of the Awami Action Committee, Mirwaiz Molvi Farooq, who was a source for the separatist agitation. This friendship helped him to kill two birds with one stone. On one side he concealed his real face and on the other, he gave an umbrella to terrorists and leaders of the JKLF. The result was that infiltration from Pakistan was encouraged. A large number of infiltrators succeeded in entering into Kashmir. Farooq kept his eyes so much shut that number of infiltrators found entry in Government services and the police. The entire administration had been paralysed because of the liberal policy of Farooq towards such elements. The then Governor, Jagmohan, has given an account of the condition that prevailed then.

"The call for observing January 26, 1984 as a black day evoked full response and total hartal was observed. Communal, narrow minded and subversive elements are getting more active and the administration losing its grip. Neither the Congress (I) nor the National Conference (Farooq) has any interest in facing this challenge on the political level. The heavy quantities of arms and ammunition smuggled from across the border are yet to be recovered. The local intelligence sources are not proving as much competent as is needed during such eventualities. Besides this, the subversive elements have clear support from a major section of the politicians, especially those elements who are connected with Jamait-e-Islami, Peoples' Conference, Peoples' League and Mahazi Azadi. This is evident by the way activists of Jamait-e-Islami are distributing cassettes, containing provocative speeches of Maqbool Butt of Kashmir Liberation Front and Syed Ali Shah Geelani, in order to incite the youth to pick up arms against India. Mohammad Altaf Khan, alias Azam Inqilabi, who has crossed over to the other side of the border, is operating from there. He and his supporters still get full assistance from the Liberation Front's Amanullah Khan.

The beginning of armed revolt

It is evident from the above mentioned details that weapons from Pakistan were smuggled into Kashmir during the time of Farooq Abdullah and during the same time Jamait-e-Islami incited Kashmiri Muslim youths to taking up arms and anti-India propaganda was launched through the cassettes. The result was that the terrorists enjoyed the upper hand. The police too were scared of a terrorist like Shabir Shah. Under the guerrilla strategy attacks of the separatists on the police kept on increasing. "Zia Tigers" and "Al Jung" separatist organisations were formed under the nose of Farooq Abdullah and these two organisations expanded their activities. Farooq Sahib had given full latitude to Mullas and Molvis to indulge in political propaganda from religious platforms. In reality separatism took birth and flourished from these very religious platforms. Taking advantage of the ostrich type attitude of the Chief Minister, many religious organisations — Islamic Students League, Ahle Hadis, Umate Islami and Jamait-e-Islami started uprooting the ancient national glory in Kashmir. These organisations started the work of influencing educational institutions while following Pakistan's style of Islamisation.

Prior to Dr. Farooq Abdullah's coming to power, Kashmir had witnessed the activities of the separatist elements. But because of the alertness of the police, many pro-Pakistan people, terrorist Kashmiri youths and separatist elements had been arrested and imprisoned. Farooq Adbullah, instead of arresting the remaining anti-national elements, started releasing the arrested criminals. Among them included even those terrorists who had returned after receiving training in Pakistan. About 200 such militants were set free by Frooq Abdullah. An event of 1983 is enough to support the above fact. In the Bakshi Stadium, in Srinagar, Dr. Farooq Abdullah remained a mute spectator when Pakistani flags were hoisted, pro-Pak atmosphere was built and when disrespectful and anti-national slogans like "Indian dogs quit Kashmir" were shouted. Those who were arrested by the police were let off under the instructions of Farooq Abdullah. Terrorism started taking firm roots in Kashmir because of the support and patronage of

Farooq Abdullah. During this very time the terrorists started terrorising Hindus who were directed to leave the Valley. Farooq Sahib remained unperturbed and reticent.

Bigotry comes to the forefront

Dr. Farooq utilised all his energies for fulfilling the known and undeclared aims of his father, Sheikh Abdullah. Farooq Abdullah facilitated the adoption of the dangerous resettlement bill in the State Assembly which his father had presented in the Assembly and which was considered illegal, immoral and anti-Hindu. But the Governor, Jagmohan, rejected it. Though the Bill did not receive his assent, it projected the real religious face of Farooq Abdullah. As such, Farooq Abdullah supported the conspiracy of inviting back Muslims from Pakistan for resettlement in Kashmir.

Besides the separatist elements in Jammu and Kashmir, similar elements in Punjab too received support from Dr. Farooq. He had met Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in the Golden temple in Amritsar after the Operation Bluestar of 1984 which had been carried out to flush out Pro-Pakistan terrorists and other criminals involved in thousand of killings in Punjab and had taken shelter in Darbar Sahib. What can be the aim of this meeting ? Bhindranwale was not a nationalist leader whom Dr. Farooq had gone to meet. Bhindranwale was not a Chief Minister of Punjab and there was no political problem of Punjab and Kashmir. Why then did Farooq go to him ? People got the reply to this question when six training centres were set up in Jammu and Kashmir for Punjab terrorists, about which reports were published in newspapers. Terrorist activities are being run in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab with the assistance of Pakistan. Was it not apparent that meetings between the Punjab and Kashmir terrorist leaders was part of the Pakistani plan ? Does it not indicate that there was a strong link-up between Pakistan, Bhindranwale and Farooq ?

During the 1984 elections Dr. Farooq Abdullah left no stone unturned in inciting religious passions among the Muslims in the election campaign of his party. The way the communal and anti-India posters were published eclipsed the

communalism of Sheikh Abdullah. Mr. Jagmohan has described the anti-national attitude of Farooq Abdullah behind the contents of these posters in the following words :—

According to Jagmohan, it is evident from one poster where all Kashmiris have been portrayed in fetters in a pitiable condition. Certainly, here arises the question as to who has kept them bound in the shackles. The impression is made that India has done it. The entire Kashmiri nation has been portrayed in the shape of the National Conference (Farooq).

In the last line of the poster it is written that "plough" is a symbol of their struggle and independence. Against whom is this struggle ? How this freedom has been undermined ? Are not the Kashmiris already free ? Do they treat themselves still slaves ?

At the top of the poster is a poem the theme of which is "O, God break that cruel hand which killed the soul of Kashmir's freedom".

It is written in the poster that the hand is stained with the blood of the innocent people. Chop it off for ever. Doesn't it clearly point towards the Indian hand ? The background of Kashmir in fetters is painted in red colour which too is meaningful.

In this context, what can be the meaning of the poster ? In all what was its impact and what message does it convey to Kashmiris ? It is also worth consideration what is the aim of the National Conference (Farooq) ? Are the speeches and statements of Farooq Abdullah, which he makes in other parts of India, in tune with the poster ?

The second poster carries the map of Kashmir with a scared face of a Kashmiri boy. The boy is inside the border of Kashmir. The boy is unconscious and on whose chest a strong hand is thrusting a spear. This hand is shown emerging from outside Kashmir meaning India. The poster unfortunately indicates that the merciless and the blood thirsty Indians are killing innocent Kashmiris. What else can be the meaning of the blood stained hand, strong fist and blood stains around the chest of the boy for the Kashmiris ?

The third poster carries guns and bayonets pointing towards Kashmir. Whose bayonets are these ? Certainly people

of Kashmir will treat them of the Indians. "Think for a while, think" is written on this poster. Its meaning is that they are surrounded by the enemy.

Alongwith the fourth poster there is need for reading "Operation New Star" titled pamphlet. This poster carries a girl representing the "nation" that is "Kashmiri nation" and it is said that her murder can be avenged by voting in favour of the National Conference. It is written in the pamphlet that the innocent girl has been a victim of the bullets of the Indian security forces. Its direct meaning is that the Indian Army is killing innocent girls. This was a dangerous and harmful propaganda when the real fact is that the girl was a victim of the Kashmir police firing opened on a Shia procession.

Gulshah in the same mould

During his 20-month rule, Ghulam Mohammad Shah surpassed all the previous record in communalism. Though he may have quarreled with Dr. Farooq Abdullah for the sake of assuming the seat of power, the two sailed in the same boat in the context of anti-Hindu and anti-India policies.

During the reign of Gulshah one more flower of communalism blossomed in Kashmir. A mosque was built in the Civil Secretariat complex in Jammu so that the Muslim employees had not to go far off for offering prayers. This mosque too was raised within the premises of an ancient temple. This incident rocked the Hindus of Jammu region. A powerful agitation was launched in Jammu under the leadership of Hindu Raksha Samiti. A delegation of Jammu Hindus, under the leadership of a well-known RSS leader, Vaid Vaishnu Dutt, met the Chief Minister, Gulshah. While insulting the members of the delegation he told them "I am also a devout Muslim. I offer Nimaz five times daily. Every Muslim has the right to offer prayers five times daily and therefore, a mosque is necessary in a Government office". It was natural for the Hindus to get provoked by the reply of Shah Sahib.

There was anger against Gulshah in Jammu city and its adjoining areas. The Hindu Raksha Samiti gave a call for Jammu Bandh. Total Bandh was observed for four days in the entire region. Thousands of workers of Hindu Raksha Samiti

and other Hindu organisations courted arrest during this time. The effigies of Shah were burnt in many places. The Shah fled to Srinagar, out of scare and without informing anyone.

The Hindu leaders removed the "Shah Masjid" from the civil secretariat. It was a success for the Hindus. However, on the other side, Shah Sahib gave a communal hue to the atmosphere on reaching Srinagar. That very time news reached Srinagar that the locks of Ram Janam Bhoomi had been opened under the Government order.

When the locks of Ram Janam Bhoomi were opened

The atmosphere that had developed in the entire country over the question of liberation of Ram Janam Bhoomi had its impact on Jammu and Kashmir. There also demonstrations, hartals and disturbances were organised and engineered by the Muslim society. But the atmosphere in Kashmir remains different from the one in rest of the country during such demonstrations. The entire atmosphere assumes the shape of anti-Hindu and pro-Pakistan trends because of Article 370, bigger population of Muslims, their own Government, and because of freedom of movement enjoyed by Pakistani infiltrators and the majority of Pakistani supporters in Kashmir.

Hartals and demonstrations in protest against the opening of the locks of Ram Janam Bhoomi were organised in the towns, districts and villages of Srinagar, Baramulla and Anantnag. These protest demonstrations had started assuming the shape of violence. Its victims were the Hindu minority community, their temples, their houses and their women- folk.

Violence after Shah reached Srinagar

The Shah reached Srinagar on February 20 along with some of his trusted officers. Till then the valley of Kashmir was calm. Some demonstrations had been organised in some prominent places against the opening of the locks of Ram Janam Bhoomi. But in such demonstrations, as has been the case always, "Pakistan Zindabad" slogans were shouted. Hartal was observed in some places and the passenger transport services

were disrupted. But the moment Gulshah and his colleagues reached Srinagar, the atmosphere turned communal and violent. Immediately two rumours were set afloat: one, Hindus have damaged many mosques in the Jammu region. Secondly, more than 200 Muslims had been killed and their bodies were being brought to Kashmir in buses. These rumours were set afloat under a well planned strategy.

Government officers, among whom the number of police officials was bigger, fully supported these rumours to spread to the valley and even reach villages. These baseless and concocted rumours paved the way for the already alert pro-Pakistan elements to indulge in anti-national activities.

These anti-national elements became active and provoked and incited the Muslim youths by organising them in small groups. A vicious atmosphere was generated for eliminating Hindus by raking up slogans like "Islam is in danger" and "Pakistan Zindabad".

Chief Minister, Gulshah, stayed in Srinagar for three days. All the conspiracies were hatched during these three days for uprooting Hindus. The Jammu and Kashmir police, in which the majority of officers and constables are Muslims, not only avoided stopping this destruction but assisted fully the rioters. In many places these police officers led the rioters and encouraged them. Muslim youths in small groups of 100 to 300 marched from one village to another who were led by Muslim Congress (I) men, workers of the Farooq and Shah factions of the National Conference and by other Muslim leaders. Police and other Government officers were informed about it by the terrorised Hindus but it had no impact on them. The Muslim rioters would enter any village without any hurdle and indulge in arson and loot of Hindu houses, temples and shops.

A survey has revealed that all the destruction of Hindu houses, temples and shops and the atrocities on Hindu women were mostly committed during the curfew restrictions. It seemed as if the curfew restrictions had been imposed to force Hindus to tolerate all atrocities and injustice silently. During any relaxation in curfew restrictions, Hindus would shut themselves in their houses out of terror, and Muslim youths used to roam about freely and indulge in destruction and arson

with their weapons, kerosene oil and petrol. It is evident that curfew relaxation was given to facilitate these elements to carry out their task because the police used to watch the scene like mute spectators.

In this region more than 500 houses were ransacked. More than 50 houses were totally burnt and around 300 of their inhabitants were uprooted. Hundreds of shops were looted. More than 30 shops were set ablaze and over 60 temples were damaged and desecrated. Out of this more than 40 temples were damaged in arson. In addition to this, hotels, factories and crops belonging to Hindus were destroyed. It was a common sight to have Hindu women beaten up, teased and insulted in the bazaars.

All these atrocities were the result of rumours that a massacre of Muslims was going on in Jammu. Contrary to this, Jammu remained totally peaceful. Nothing happened anywhere. How strange and well planned strategy it was to keep Hindus under check during regular curfew restrictions and police curbs, while on the other hand, gave full opportunity to Muslim youths to indulge in arson in Kashmir. In Sopore town the son of Congress leader and member of Rajya Sabha, Ghulam Rasool Kar, led a violent demonstration. During these processions and violent demonstrations, news about the death of those Muslims was circulated who were alive. Many among them were present there. In many places a call for social boycott of Hindus was given so that they were teased and tormented forcing them to leave the Valley. At one place a Muslim shopkeeper refused to sell milk to a child because he was a Hindu. And in Jammu Muslims were provided with milk, during the curfew restrictions, through Government vans.

Almost all the political parties in the country condemned these riots. One BJP delegation, led by Kedar Nath Sahni, visited Kashmir and it briefed the Press and the concerned officers regarding the entire situation.

Prof. Balraj Madhok writes in his book "Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh," that the events of February 1986, in which Muslims in the Kashmir valley, particularly in Anantnag district of South Kashmir, damaged about 50 temples, set ablaze hundreds of houses and gave inhuman and indecent

treatment to Hindu women, are the blackest deeds of the 20-month rule of G.M. Shah. According to informed sources, the so called supporters of the Congress played a hateful role in this evil deed. The Kashmiri leaders of the Congress had thought that after the dismissal of the Shah Government, the Congress would form its cabinet allowing a chance for its Muslim President to become the Chief Minister. The second object was to terrorise Kashmiri Pandits and force them to migrate from the Valley.

Gulshah nourishes desire for Islamic rule

In the booklet "Why the Governor's rule in Jammu and Kashmir" ? Published by the National Conference, excerpts of the speeches of Shah Sahib have been published. These speeches indicate that the Shah would treat the post of the Chief Minister and Government institutions as Islamic centres. He would consider these as organs for propagating Islam. It is written in the book that shah Sahib had advised a big congregation of his party workers that if by dint of their hard work, honesty and the blessings of God they reach the Rashtrapati Bhawan, they should construct a mosque there for the worship of God.

Shah Sahib had so much religious zeal that he would not understand the simple matters of humanity and civilisation. The President, the Prime Minister of India, whenever they go to any temple, mosque, Church or any Gurdwara, follow certain rules in those places. This is civilisation of a religious man. But Gulshah's civilisation had been blackened by his bigotry. A reading of an excerpt from his speeches gives a clear indication of his narrow mindedness.

One such speech : "I had to face 20 difficulties in my 20-month rule. I accompanied President Venketraman to Vaishnov Devi pilgrimage. There the President offered prayers according to his religion and the priest of the Shrine applied Tilak on his forehead. When he approached me with Tilak I stopped him and told him : 'I am a Muslim and my religion does not permit application of Tilak on the forehead'. I was invited to attend the Dussera festival. I had been told in my childhood that this

festival and function is not in line with our religious principle. That is why I refused to attend the function".

The political atmosphere of Jammu and Kashmir had been fully poisoned during the rule of Gulshah. The Kashmir Valley was under the flames of communalism but the heat of these flames affected only Kashmiri Hindus. As a result of this tension, Congress too started losing its base in the Hindu Society. The Shah Ministry was dismissed and the Governor's rule was imposed in March 1986 because of the political worry of the Congress. On leaving his office Shah Sahib revived the old Muslim Conference. Shah wanted to restrengthen the Islamic base by exploiting India and Hindus. He launched a powerful propaganda saying that there was no secularism in Kashmir. His mind was clear : he wanted an Islamic rule in Kashmir because of its Muslim majority. By announcing that establishment of Islamic rule in Jammu and Kashmir was the goal of his life, he kicked the hollow base of India's secularism.

Campaign of terrorism and administration's reticence

On November 7, 1986, Dr. Farooq Abdullah resumed power as Chief Minister but this colourful personality had no grip on the administration. Dr. Gourinath says: "The fact is that Farooq Abdullah has never succeeded in keeping the administration under his control. As lover of pleasures, he had no time for this. It can be substantiated by the way Dr. Farooq was enjoying a ride with a famous film actress, Jeenat Aman on a motorbike in Sopore, while the plan of toppling his Government was being formed in Srinagar between end of June and the beginning of July 1984".

On assuming power, Dr. Farooq got worried about those jailed terrorists who had been arrested on charge of bomb blasts and other acts of violence. These included 70 hardcore terrorists whose detention had been held valid by the State High Court. Dr. Farooq ordered release of a gang of 23 terrorists so that they could be brought back to the "national mainstream". The meaning of national mainstream for Dr. Farooq was that they should be brought back to the anti-national stream which was flowing in Kashmir.

The administration had almost become paralysed because of Dr. Farooq's indecisive policies. But the workers of the National Conference thought it proper to adopt silence in these conditions. A report in Dec. 17, 1986 Hindustan Times says :

The powerful National Conference, which claims to have its workers in all the villages of the Valley, has pitiably failed to face terrorism and violence during the last two years. When the terrorists arrived on the scene, party workers, instead of campaigning against them and of mobilising public opinion against them, preferred to remain inactive and allowed the situation to takes its own course. This is the reason for the support the terrorists got from villages and towns. Besides this, the inactive administration allowed the situation to deteriorate. The Chief Minister delivered bold speeches before the public calling for an end to violence and the arrest of disruptionists. But all this proved fruitless. During the last two years about 100 people have been killed by militants and the police. Even before the 1983 elections, there was a charge against the Government of Jammu and Kashmir that it had recruited many youths in the police who had links with the militant organisation "Al Fatah".

The Times of India too made a similar comment when in its November 23, 1989 issue it said that it seems that in the once prosperous but now a helpless Kashmir valley that a peculiar silence adopted towards the disruptive and illegal activities of terrorists is intriguing. Much before the announcement of the poll schedule, Pak-trained militants' subversive activities continue in the face of lack of any concern from New Delhi and except for the rhetoric and thundering speeches of Dr. Farooq Abdullah nothing else has been done.

The editorial of "The Hindu" on January 11, 1990 has said that the state Government has failed to restore even the semblance of normalcy. In the bloody events during the beginning of the week eight persons lost their lives because of the police firing. It clearly indicates that the Government has no means for bringing the situation under control. Subversives achieve success in indulging in sabotage, in carrying out different bomb explosions and in setting ablaze Government buildings despite the curfew restrictions. Such activities vivify

the inaction of the Government. Dr. Farooq Abdullah has proved a failure not only administratively but politically also.

Administration under the control of Pro-Pak terrorists

The above mentioned newspaper commentaries indicate that the grip of the administration in the Kashmir valley had weakened and the control of pro-Pak elements and of militants favouring independence was increasing. The police Department, CID, Colleges, local newspapers, banks and other private and Government institutions had not only witnessed infiltration of militants but they had come under the control of anti-national elements. The Muslim officers and employees of Jammu and Kashmir Police started giving overt and covert support to the militants. The Government decision, even before they were implemented, started getting known to the terrorists. One Head Constable, Abdullah Bangroo, played a vital role in carrying secret messages, letters and plans of the terrorists from one place to the other. This way links between many police employees and terrorists were established in Anantnag. To what extent the police were active in rendering assistance to the terrorists in a systematic way can be judged by an instance given by the then Governor, Mr. Jagmohan.

He has written about : "An event which took place on January 21, 1990".

Around 4.30 in the afternoon a small company of the CRPF saw one white Ambassador car in Lal Bazaar. On suspicion it signalled it to stop but instead of stopping, the car sped faster. The CRPF jawans opened fire. The car was slightly damaged and one of the occupants of the car was slightly injured. Suddenly, a Jeep belonging to the Soura police station appeared on the scene and started sounding the siren loudly. This divided the concentration of everybody and in the midst of confusion the Ambassador car, which was following the police van, disappeared. After about 10 minutes the same Police Jeep was spotted by the CRPF jawans at nearby Hawal area and was stopped. The search of the Jeep revealed that one person, belonging to Uri village of Baramulla district, was seated with

the police driver. When he alighted from the jeep, he left behind some goods wrapped in a blanket. After removing the blanket, one loaded 38 bore revolver, one Chinese handgrenade, one knife sand one toy pistol were recovered. Three constables of the JKAP besides one more policeman of Baramulla, who were party to the conspiracy, were arrested.

In addition to the police services, majority of officers of all Government services used to encourage terrorism. It included those who were principal leaders of various militant outfits and some were working as area commanders. One Inspector belonging to the State Electricity Department at Pulwama was working as Area Commander of Hizbul Mujahideen. Though this official remained absent from duty for many days, he was given his pay and other facilities. He was using the Electricity Department's telephone and vehicle for subversive activities.

Many members of the State Council of Ministers were at the back of those Government employees who supported and assisted terrorist activities. This way Government employees, on the support of many bigwigs, started lending full support to the struggle for "Kashmir's liberation". As a result of full cooperation from the Jail authorities, 12 hardcore terrorists were successful in escaping from the Srinagar Central Jail. This incident explains the conspiracy that was being hatched in the upper circles of the administration. The equipments for breaking the wall and cloth for weaving the ropes were made available to them. The hand of the administration is quite apparent in the events connected with absence of officials at the moment, power breakdown at that very moment, shifting of securitymen to the other barrack and availability of boats on the bank of the Nigin lake and successful escape. It is equally amazing to hear Pakistan Radio news broadcast about the escape of the inmates soon after the Jail break. The fleeing prisoners have no time to prepare the news of their escape and make arrangements for sending it to the other country. This incident also indicates the extent of Pakistani interference in the State administration.

It might have meant some labour (Government support) for engineering the escape of the militants from the jail but

what can be said about the way 70 hardcore terrorists were released under the direct orders of the Chief Minister. All of them were expert in subversive activities. Since they were well versed in the infiltration routes on the border, in the style of smuggling of arms and ammunition, in recruitment of youths and in other allied terrorist activities, they restarted such activities after their release. They had full introduction and links with Pakistani authorities. If on one hand, their release encouraged many pro-Pakistan outfits and the Government employees feeling easy in taking part in these anti-national activities, on the other hand, it demoralised the nationalist officers and employees. Now they felt threat to their lives from their colleagues who were Pakistan supporters. Involved in the anti-national activities these employees would remain absent from their offices for many days. They would draw full salary from the state exchequer. Since they enjoyed political patronage, no complaint was lodged against them and no enquiry was launched.

Many hospitals in the Valley turned into hideouts for the terrorists. Terrorists would be admitted as patients in the hospitals because of the support of the doctors. It had become a routine affair for them to sleep in the hospitals, partake food from the hospital and store their arms there. Many gates of the hospitals, parks and walls were rebuilt and relaid according to the requirements and facilities of the terrorists. For instance some holes had been dug in the wall of the outer compound of SMHS Hospital from where anyone could escape through the narrow lanes of the crowded Mohallas. The hand of the hospital administration had been evident, in one way or the other, in the escape of dreaded militants like Hamid Sheikh and Yasin Malik, in the kidnapping of Rubiya Sayed and in the killing incidents around the medical complex. Dr. A.A. Guru, who had, over a long period, established grip on the local medial community due to his post and by using his political influence and contacts, was the main person behind all these incidents.

It can be treated as the country's misfortune that the courts where people get justice, too had come in the clutches of the conspirators. The fact is that these wisemen and legal experts have done great injustice to the nation by giving

"justice" to the terrorists in accordance with the "Islamic principles" and "Islamic rules". It had become a routine matter for the judges to release the arrested terrorists without bail, issue one-sided stay order, protract and keep pending the hearing and discussion of the cases and restrict the constitutional rights of the Government to impose curfew restrictions. This way the work in the courts was paralysed. Lawyers in some towns of the valley even set up Islamic courts which were recognised by Mullahs, Molvis, fundamentalist Muslim leaders and the Jamait-e-Islami leaders. They directed people to go to such courts for settling their cases. The lawyers too rejected the nation in the name of Islam and turned into a rebel.

If any lawyer was asked to prepare a speech on "nation first, religion afterwards" for which he would be paid Rs. 5,000, that person would present arguments in support of sacrifice for the nation whether one belonged to any religion or community.

Newspapers in the grip of terrorists

Newspapers in the Kashmir valley too fully cooperated with this violent agitation based on separatism through publicity. The threats to Hindus to quit Kashmir were published in the garb of statements and speeches of terrorists. These newspapers started publishing, without any fear, the reports about "Bandhs" and "civil curfew". The editorials and the news items of these newspapers used to be in such a way as if they were either the representatives or the spokesmen of the militant organisations. One newspaper even published a threat telling non-Kashmiris and Hindus to leave Kashmir within two days. This way these newspapers started publishing programmes, and threats of these terrorist outfits without any charges.

Mr. Jagmohan has given additional information in this respect in his book. According to Jagmohan, what can be talked about local newspapers when the Srinagar station of Doordarshan had become almost a spokesman of these subversive elements. "Within one week of my arrival in Srinagar I was shocked to see the telecast of false and exaggerated account given by the militants as news in the local Kashmiri news

bulletin. Even the "Namaz-i-Jinaza" in Anantnag, Barmulla and Sopore, would be telecast on Doordarshan. The cheapest and the most dangerous weapons of the militants was to spread rumours. Kashmiris have a special weakness for rumours, exaggerations and concocted tales".

A statement of Kashmir Students Liberation Front's commander was published in an Urdu newspaper "Sadai Huriyat" like this : "The most powerful weapons in the hands of a Muslim is his faith — Islam. The examples of Palistines and Afghans are in front of us. If the flame of Islam gets lit in the mind of Kashmiri Muslims, I am fully confident that we will be free shortly, because our fight is with a coward and not a brave nation. In addition to this, we are not alone". It is quite evident from this single example that newspapers in the valley supported the anti-national elements.

Terrorism in Kashmir did not remain confined to the valley alone. It is being extended to the Jammu region under a plan. In many areas in the Jammu region Muslims held protest demonstrations against the arrest of a dreaded pro-Pak militant, Shabir Shah. On October 14, 1989 in a mosque in Doda Muslims unfurled an Islamic flag and expressed their support for the violent agitation for the sake of achieving the goal of "Greater Kashmir" or "Independent Kashmir". They delivered fiery speeches on the occasion.

Government of India did not try to come out of its politics of self-interest to see the real shape of the dangerous problem in Kashmir. It did not even bother to examine the gravity of the situation. Political leaders of Kashmir too spoke different languages and kept on changing their stances. A nationalist of today became a traitor tomorrow and after sometime the same became a nationalist again. In Delhi, Kashmiri leaders are Indians. These very people remain worshipper of "Kashmir nation" in Kashmir and whenever they go to Pakistan, they become pro-Pak. This character of politics of Kashmir continues till today without any hindrance. Mr. B.N. Malik has, in his book "My Days with Nehru," given an account of this special character of Kashmiri leaders.

According to him, it is unfortunate that these leaders, some like the old leaders of the type of Sheikh Abdullah or Afzal Beg, or like the Farooq type opportunists, try to take advantage of regionalism and separatism in order to fulfil their aims. The examples of such feelings can be found among the Scottish or Wales people of Great Britain, or French-speaking people in Canada, or the English speaking people in South Africa. Similar feelings can be found in separate Telengana or Vidarbh agitations. Such feelings of regionalism are fanned by those people who want to become leaders of different factions and parties.

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Governor Jagmohan

Governor Jagmohan showed the way for bringing back safely Kashmir from the clutches of Pakistan. Kashmiri leaders continued to get opportunities for promoting their religious fundamentalism because of the greed for power and political interest of the ruling Congress leaders. With "independent" Kashmir as their goal, these Kashmiri leaders went on changing their political attire for achieving this goal. The Central Congress Government kept on patronising this attitude.

It was because of the support of the Congress that Sheikh Abdullah, who was one time an anti-national and would call the congressmen as "worms of a gutter", was reinstalled, in 1975 as Chief Minister. Rajiv Gandhi who had dubbed Farooq Abdullah a pro-Pak and a security threat for the country, entered into an agreement with the same Farooq and installed him as the Chief Minister. Kashmir went in the hands of the subversives because of this policy of "dislodge and install". The seriousness of the situation in Kashmir can be judged by those orders of militants under which people were directed not to pay taxes, not to deposit their money in nationalised banks, outsiders asked to deposit their passports with the militants, shopkeepers having to hoist green flags on their shops and Muslim women being told wear burqas (veils).

Kashmiri Hindus were started being pressurised for

quitting Kashmir. They started receiving threatening letters. Mr. Jagmohan has made a mention of one such letter :

"We know that you have been living in Kashmir for a long time. You have one mill at Barbarshah and one house at Lal Mandi. You have to leave Kashmir immediately otherwise we will blow up your house and factory. We will blow up your house and hotel in Delhi. We direct you to leave Kashmir immediately, otherwise your children will be harmed. We know where they are studying. We also know it that your daughter was recently married. Stop your trade and quit immediately. We are not threatening you. But this land belongs only to the Muslims because this land belongs to God (Allah). Sikhs and Hindus cannot stay here. If you did not accept it, we shall start from your children. Independence of Kashmir Zindabad."

Uprooting and Migration of Kashmiri Hindus

There was impact of this atmosphere of terror. The Hindu of Kashmir, who had stood his ground hitherto despite facing many ordeals, got terrorised. There was no other alternative left for him except for leaving the land of Kashmir. Migration started gradually. The rate of the incidents of killing of innocent Kashmiri Pandits, burning of their houses, loot of their property, insults and abduction of their women increased. A Kashmiri Pandit leader, Mr. Dwarika Nath Munshi, has compiled figures on the killings of Hindus and atrocities they were subjected to. According to Munshi, more than 700 Kashmiri Hindus, about 100 non-Kashmiri Hindus and over one dozen Sikhs were mercilessly and brutally killed. About 150 of those Kashmiri Muslims were killed who had treated well their Hindu neighbours. These people were either strangled or their bodies were ripped open. In other cases their limbs were chopped off. Militants thrust iron rods into the bodies of many and peeled of their skin while they were alive. Mutilated bodies were thrown to rot. Nobody was prepared to perform the last rites of the dead.

Out of the three lakh people displaced from the Valley, about 1.50 lakh people are passing their days in difficulty in

camps and in rented houses in Jammu and its adjoining areas. About 50,000 displaced people are scattered in Delhi and its neighbouring areas. The rest are staying in camps or other houses in Chandigarh, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Agra, Gaziabad, Faridabad, Shimla, Jaipur, Lucknow, Varanasi, Bhopal, Madras, Banglore, Bombay and Calcutta. Many people have taken temporary refuge in the houses of their relations and friends in the plains. In Kashmir the vacant houses of the Hindus have been looted. Till now over 1500 houses have been set ablaze. Colleges and educational institutions run or owned by Hindus and other religious institutions have been damaged in arson and bomb blasts.

It is highly ridiculous that even this mass destruction and exodus of Hindus has been made a victim of the mean mentality of appeasement. Those leaders who view the entire ignoble and condemnable scene of events with their political lenses have no time to enquire about the difficulties of these Hindus. The then Prime Minister, V.P. Singh, who was highly shaken and perturbed over the fate of a few thousand Muslims, trapped in Kuwait during the Gulf war, did not enquire about the condition of these three lakh uprooted Hindus. It was done only to prevent loss of the Muslim vote bank. The ruling Congress leaders did not think it proper to worry about these three lakh displaced Hindus. No Minister, no Prime Minister or a top Congress leader has peeped into the plight of these Hindus who have been facing the onslaught of the vagaries of weather in the camps. Had such a misfortune befallen just 300 Muslims, the entire Army of Ministers and the Prime Minister would have been on the alert. These leaders would have shed crocodile tears in order to influence the Muslim vote bank.

This is unfortunate for both India and Muslims. These political leaders have treated Muslims as a commodity of votes. They exploited it but never allowed them to come closer to the national mainstream. The religious and political leaders of the Muslim society too left no stone unturned in pushing the society into the darkness of bigotry. The result was the Muslim society was caught in the jaws of the greed for power of the ruling party and the religious rigidity of Molvis and Mullahs. Foreign

fundamentalist forces took advantage of it and incited Muslim youths to turn anti-India. Kashmir is a living example of this fact.

Jagmohan stakes his life

Kashmir had almost fallen in the hands of Pakistan because of Pakistani interference, ridiculous and sceptical policies of Jammu and Kashmir Government and carelessness of the Government of India. The administration was getting under the grip of terrorists. The police, the courts and main Government departments had either become passive spectators or were supporting the militants. Seeing that Kashmir was getting lost, the Centre, after proper thought, appointed Jagmohan as Governor of the State because he was a seasoned administrator and an experienced officer. He had remained Governor of the State earlier and during that time he had displayed administrative calibre and love for people. Therefore, his appointment made nationalist people in the state and in the entire country happy. Jagmohan held the reins of the paralysed administration in his strong hands.

He asked his adviser, Jameel Qureshi, to prepare a brief but comprehensive report on the situation of the State so that he could go through it. The report of Qureshi gives a clear glimpse of the situation that existed in the state prior to the appointment of Jagmohan as Governor.

As per the report, almost all people believe that Kashmir was either getting liberated or would merge with Pakistan by January 1990. In reality, militants had made a commitment that January 26 would be the deadline set for the declaration of independent Republic of Kashmir and the foreign press correspondents would be invited to watch the birth of the new Republic. The Government orders would remain in force within the walls of the chambers. The morale of the police had totally collapsed. There was mutiny within the Police when the JKAP men gheroaed their officers and had recovered security fund on the gun point. Instead of tackling militants they were assisting and inciting them.

One can imagine the extent of disorder and the deteriorating situation in the state from the contents of the Qureshi report. The state administration was so much under the spell of the terror of terrorists that they could not utter a word which could be treated as against militancy. People were so much scared as that they would obey all the orders and information of the militants without any reservation. Despite all this, the Muslim society was in the grip of a peculiar and surprising mental trend which was evident from its hope that Kashmir would be liberated soon. The entry of Jagmohan as Governor of the State was an act of danger, courage and nationalism in the light of the situation that existed at that time. In reality Jagmohan had to enter into the den of the lion and tame him.

The appointment of Jagmohan as Governor dismayed and annoyed fully two segments of the State. The first was the militants who, like Mohd. Ali Jinnah, had thought that Kashmir, like a ripe apple, was about to fall in the bag. With his determination and unique capacity for work, Jagmohan washed away all their ignoble plans. The second segment was in Delhi. It was Rajiv Gandhi and his colleagues who feared that the success of Jagmohan would be treated as success of the non-Congress Government in the Centre. This Rajiv group would not like to see any non-congress Government achieving success at any cost. But more dismayed than these two groups was the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah. Farooq had two reasons for being worried over it. First, he had friendly relations with both the groups. Farooq was the rubber stamps of both the terrorists and the Rajiv band. Secondly, Farooq saw his anti-national face getting exposed. Therefore, the three forces, Kashmiri separatists, Farooq Abdullah and the Rajiv group, launched a tirade against Jagmohan. The terrorists decided to step up their armed activities. Their patron, the then Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms Benazir Bhtto, while supporting Pakistani interference and assistance, announced that Jagmohan would be converted into "Bhagmohan", meaning thereby that he would be forced to quit Kashmir. Dr. Farooq Abdullah resigned from the post of the Chief Ministership and

Rajiv Gandhi started his conspiracy by dubbing Jagmohan as anti-Muslim.

Terrorists demoralised

The truth had been established that Kashmiri terrorists and Dr. Farooq Abdullah were, by birth, traitors of India, but now Rajiv Gandhi too displayed his in born devotion to Abdullah family by opposing the national activities and plans of Jagmohan. In this context Rajiv Gandhi gave a display of the attitude which was similar to Pandit Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

It is also an unfortunate coincidence that the fate of Kashmir got crushed in the mill of domestic friendship between two top families, their hunger for power and their ambiguous political style. One dynasty, in the shape of Sheikh Abdullah, Gulshah and Farooq, kept on ruling Kashmir and the other dynasty, in the form of Nehru, Indira and Rajiv, remained as rulers in Delhi. The current problem of Kashmir is a monument of the friendship between these two dynasties.

Sh. Jagmohan, soon after assuming power, dissolved the State Assembly. It was necessary to do it in the interest of the nation. Many Assembly members were known to Jagmohan and he knew their links with pro-Pak terrorists. He also knew that they were using their political influence for giving all help to the terrorists. Therefore, Jagmohan broke the political back of such elements by his first strike. After this, the Governor imposed prolonged spell of curfew restrictions in areas affected by militancy in the Valley to launch massive search operations. The result of these operations was that large quantities of arms and ammunition and foreign weapons, used for violence, were recovered. A big section of terrorists was arrested. Jagmohan ousted pro-Pak officers and employees in the administration and many vital departments were reorganised. He also succeeded in bridling those editors and newsmen who had launched a powerful publicity campaign in support of the violent agitation for "independent" Kashmir in the name of Islam.

This way the back bone of terrorism started breaking. Immediately the Governor took another bold step. On April 16,

1990 he declared prominent militant outfits, Jamait-e-Islami, Hizhul Mujahideen, JKLF, Students Liberation Front, Mahazi Azadi, Islamic Students League, People's League and Islamic Jamitul Tulba as unlawful and imposed ban on them. This was done under the State Criminal Law Amendment Act. As a result of this ban, the bank accounts of Jamait-e-Islami were sealed. The inflamatory speeches of this organisation were stopped. Many leaders of this organisation were arrested. As many as 147 schools, run by Falai-e-Aam Trust, supporter of Jamait-e-Islami, were closed. About 15,000 students, who were studying in these schools, were given admission in Government schools.

One praiseworthy aspect of his successes was that Jagmohan received full support from the nationalist Muslims for his work otherwise it was very difficult to fight Muslim-influenced terrorism in the Muslim majority region. Jagmohan has written "I received full co-operation from the Army, BSF, CRPF, Information service, police officers besides several civil authorities". He had received encouragement from them and whenever he would ring up anyone even at midnight, he would get right reply. In the context of this situation The Tribune had written that a famous security expert had expressed surprise as to how a bureaucrat could secure cent percent confidence of the Army ? Similarly the Indian Express had written that now onwards the liberation slogans are not shouted from the mosques of the valley and the flags of JKLF and Hizbul Mujahideen are not seen now. Their names have been removed from the walls. After a long time, the life appears normal in the city.

Rajiv and Fernandes hurdle in Jagmohan's way

The improving situation in Kashmir could not be tolerated by Rajiv Gandhi and many other political leaders of his like. They could see their political base being shaken. By abandoning the national interest, Rajiv Gandhi came to a low level of political manoeuvres. While touring the country he started

denigrating Jagmohan. He even insulted the Indian Army. The former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, got busy in appeasing the Muslim vote bank by propagating alleged "excesses" on the people of Kashmir by the security forces. As a result of this campaign an All Party Delegation, led by the then Deputy Prime Minister, Devi Lal, visited Kashmir on March 9, 1990.

During this trip Rajiv Gandhi displayed his childish and selfish behaviour. He openly criticised all the arrangements made by the Governor. He entered into argument with many members on trivial issues. By playing up the issue of discourteous attitude of Jagmohan towards the Deputy Prime Minister, he finished the main purpose of the delegation. As a result of this irresponsible and mean behaviour of Rajiv Gandhi the delegation returned without doing any solid and constructive work. Possibly Rajiv Gandhi would have felt happy over it, but history will never forget him for harming the nation and Kashmir. Top newspapers in the country criticised in strong words the behaviour of Rajiv Gandhi. An instance :

Editorial of the Indian Express of March 14, 1990 : The Congress (I) and the National Conference members of the All Party Committee gave a display of their opportunism. It became evident that they, instead of the interest of the country, think in terms of political and self-interest. It is hoped that they will not try to create hurdles for the sake of self-interest, in the work of the Samiti which is trying to save Kashmir.

George Fernandes was a major obstacle in the way of Jagmohan. He was appointed Minister incharge of Kashmir Affairs. He too wanted to give priority to his political ambition and he took many decisions, without the knowledge of the Governor, which placed the Government officers in a fix. In a way Kashmir had now two Governors. The misfortune of that Army can be imagined which is guided by two commanders who simultaneously issue different orders. According to Jagmohan "had George Fernandes worked with me together under the above plan, it would have been better. But the personal political ambition of George deviated hin ..om this path. On becoming the Minister for Kashmir Affairs, he independently started working haphazardly and secretly. His idea was that he would

enlarge his national personality by solving the Kashmir problem. He projected me as a fundamentalist. He wanted me to be projected as a fundamentalist and himself as progressive and liberal. He wanted to show that he will start such a political process which will immediately prove successful. I was shocked over the style of thinking and approach. His actions harmed me a lot. More painful is that it harmed greatly the nation".

The anti-Jagmohan forces became ready to harm Kashmir. Their only aim of life was to overthrow Jagmohan in the interest of their political ambitions. Jagmohan has given another example of the policy of appeasement of Muslims pursued by V.P. Singh and George Fernandes. Jagmohan has written that George Fernandes made an untimely statement on the Srinagar station of All India Radio and Doordarshan that V.P. Singh is in agreement with the demand that in local news bulletins President be called "Sadr" and Prime Minister as "Wazir-e-Azam" when the practice of using the nomenclature of Pradhan Mantri and Rashtrapati was going on. He also said that the Prime Minister has agreed that at the end of each news bulletin the word "Khuda Hafiz" can be used.

The above incident indicates the extent to which these people can go while opposing Jagmohan. It is highly condemnable and cannot be forgiven as to how anti-Jagmohan forces tried to undermine those very traditions for which people of Jammu and Kashmir had, under the banner of Praja Parishad, sacrificed. The way Mother India lost its illustrious son, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookherjee, while protecting the constitution and Mela Ram achieved martyrdom while preserving India's culture was now being eroded by the anti-Jagmohan forces.

Criticism by Farooq Abdullah

In criticism of Jagmohan Dr. Farooq Abdullah crossed all the limits. It was surprising that not a single central Minister and not even the Prime Minister himself remained unmoved by it. Rajiv Gandhi had to support Farooq because of his in born traditions but the then ruling party too backed Dr. Abdullah. On February 7, 1991 Farooq's statement was published in the

Times of India in which he had said that he had instructed his partymen to lie low, cross the border and receive arms training. He had directed them to "do anything but not remain in the clutches of Jagmohan". Even a simple minded person can read the meaning in the statement of Farooq Abdullah. "Cross the border and receive arms training" is a clear case of revolt against the nation. But the leaders, intoxicated by the appeasement policy of Muslims, did not ponder over the statement seriously.

Jagmohan risked his life and the way he saved Kashmir from the control of Pakistan through his unique administrative capacity has been highly appreciated and praised in the entire country. But it proved an eye sore for the vote greedy people. Dr. Farooq had given vent to his frustration in an Urdu newspaper of Kashmir on February 15, 1990. He had said that as a "killer and in the garb of Chengez Khan the Governor was dead set to turn the valley of Kashmir into a big graveyard. Since January 20 it is difficult, because of continuous curfew restrictions, to say how many hundreds of people have been killed by the Army and the paramilitaty forces. At a time when citizens of Kashmir see with their eyes how their dear nation is turning to a huge graveyard, I wish to appeal to my people and the entire world and they should, as protector of humanity, enquire into shameful steps".

This statement reveals the real mind of Farooq who had not treated those militants as killers and Changez Khan who had killed Kashmiri Pandits, destroyed their houses and families and were responsible for their exodus to become mendicants in their own country. But when terrorists started getting mauled by the security forces, it resulted in a lightning in the valley of Kashmir and the Governor was dubbed as killer and Changez Khan.

Conspiracy against Jagmohan : assassination of Molvi Farooq

Since Jagmohan became popular in the entire country because of his strong steps against militants, his opponents

failed to dislodge him and all their schemes in this direction could not succeed so long he was in the chair. Suddenly the fortune's wheel turned in different direction. On May 21, 1990 Mirwaiz Molvi Farooq was killed. The killing of the Maulana changed the course of history of Kashmir. The killing was part of a deep conspiracy. All militant outfits became active soon after the killing and, as per the plan, circulated a rumour in the town that someone got the Molvi killed. As planned earlier, a massive procession was taken out in the city. The crowd took possession of the body of the Maulana in a discourteous way. The angry processionists attacked one picket of the CRPF and destroyed it. Eight jawans including its commander were injured. When this violent procession was stopped near Islamia College by the security forces, stone pelting started from the crowd. Some militants attacked a CRPF picket at Hawal with AK-47 rifles. There was crossfire in which some were killed and others injured. Another rumour was set afloat in the city that Maulana Farooq was neither killed by a militant nor by a Kashmiri.

The purpose behind these rumours was clear. It was planned to hold the state Government responsible for the killing of Molvi Farooq so that an atmosphere against Jagmohan was created in the country. But the chowkidar of Molvi Sahib, Ghulam Qadir Sofi, made a statement which silenced the opponents of the Government. He said "all the youths were Kashmiris. They were well built and of medium height and had fair complexion". The Sofi had caught hold of one of the assailants but he managed to escape. He had followed him upto the University gate but after that nothing was known about him. Therefore, the incident seems to be a conspiracy which proved successful.

Jagmohan's opponents raised a political storm and in fact these politicians were not against Jagmohan but against V.P. Singh. They had nothing to do with the Kashmir "problem", security of the nation and unity of the country. These were power hungry leaders who could speak any immoral thing, do anything unconstitutional and could feel anything which is anti-national. Thus, Rajiv Gandhi, Chandrashekhar and all

leftists launched "sack Jagmohan" campaign unashamedly. All joined hands at this juncture. Famous for his opportunism, V.P. Singh too thought it advisable to support the anti-Jagmohan group in order to save his chair. According to Jagmohan, George Fernandes and his colleagues were adept in the technique of utilising "my successes" for their benefit. Fernandes had started taking advantage of the weaknesses of V.P. Singh and tried to make him believe certain things. The weakness of V.P. Singh was that he wanted to win over the Muslim voters. He had realised that V.P. Singh's political strategy was to influence the Muslims and the fanatics in order to dilute the influence of the BJP. He, therefore, made V.P. Singh to believe that whatever progress and improvement have been registered in Kashmir, the credit is being given to the BJP and not to the Janata Dal.

It can be treated as a misfortune for the country that an able and successful Governor like Jagmohan had to be a victim of the politics of appeasement of Muslims and of votes. Whether he was asked to resign or he himself was forced to resign is not important. The important fact is that between the chair and the nation the former proved more valuable. It can be said that the assassination of Mirwaiz Molvi Farooq was the assassination of Kashmir. History will never forgive V.P. Singh, Chandrashekhar and Rajiv Gandhi for their anti-national deeds.

PART-4

PRESENT KASHMIR

23

Pakistan's Proxy War

Under the 1965 "Operation Gibralter" Pakistani citizens had been infiltrated into Kashmir for kicking up violence and subversion. Now under the "Operation Topac" those youths involved in the activities of violence are not Pakistani citizens but Kashmiri youths born in India who have been indoctrinated by the Mullahs and Molvis and have been shown the dream of "Independent" Kashmir.

The more India talks, in front of the world, about the Pakistani interference, the more denials come from Pakistan. The Indian President, Prime Minister and Foreign Ministers have, in many international fora given details of the assistance being provided by Pakistan to Kashmiri militants. Besides this, the question of Pakistani interference in Kashmir and Punjab figured during several talks at the Foreign Secretary and Defence secretary level between India and Pakistan. But Pakistan expressed its helplessness in understanding the language of India. It is perhaps due to the fact that the language Pakistani rulers understand, the Indian rulers have not yet made up their mind to implement or make use of that language. Pakistan is taking advantage of this weakness of India and continues to formulate its strategy for the proxy war.

Militants' training centres

Training centres for the terrorists are being run in

Pakistan and occupied Kashmir under the guidance and supervision of Pak Army officers. Information about these training centres has been, and is being, given by the arrested terrorists. On the basis of this information the security forces have stepped up their vigilance on the border. The Peoples' League supremo, Shabir Ahmed Shah, and the Chief of JKLF in 1984, Hashim Qureshi, have confirmed the reports on the training camps thereby having accepted Pakistani interference. Mr Ram Bahadur Rai wrote a series of articles in "Jan Satta" a daily newspaper in September 1991. According to him 90 training centres have been set up for Kashmiri militants in Pakistan, occupied Kashmir and Afghanistan under the supervision of the ISI, a premier Pakistani intelligence agency. The trainers belonging to the ISI, FIU and Hizbe Islami of Gulbaddin Hekmatyar impart training to the Kashmiri militants. There are 38 training centres in Pakistan occupied Kashmir out of which six are around Muzaffarabad. These centres are being run at Dhumel, Match factory, Sharkotlines, Chhatar, Murki and Gojra fort. Training camps have been opened at Haji Pir, between Poonch and Uri, Aliabad and Dhallan Subali. There are 36 training centres in Pakistan including the one's at Abbetabad, Dera Adamkhel, Faislabad, Gujranwala, Jehlum, Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Sargoda, Shekhpura, Sialkot and Herimangal. These centres are being run in the cantonments.

In 1990 the Gates mission had visited Pakistan and Robert Gates was now the CIA Chief. Pakistani authorities had informed Robert Gates that Kashmiri militants were being given training in 31 training centres. Prior to this, in April 23, 1990 issue of the Washington Post an article by S.S.Harrison had revealed that 63 training camps were being run in Pakistan for the last two years as per the source information. The Government of India has information about 33 trainers who have giving arms training to Kashmiri youths in different camps during the last two years. The training period, usually, lasts for a fortnight. But when a large number of Kashmiri youths, under increasing pressure of the Indian security forces, crossed over to Pakistan during the last one year, the training

period was reduced to four days. A small group of youths was selected for three-months training. During the training they were taught how to handle the weapons and how to escape interrogation.

Pakistani agents are moving in Srinagar, Kupwara and Baramulla districts of the Kashmir Valley in search of unemployed youths. Arrangements are made to send them to Pakistan in the name of Islam and "independent" Kashmir. Many are lured through money. They are carried in trucks and buses secretly to the border by these agents and the border guides make arrangements for their crossing to the other side. After trekking some distance, they are carried to their destination. After thorough screening, they are given training.

Disinformation in world fora

Pakistan also made arrangements for concealing its interference in Kashmir. It launched a clever and well-organised anti-India campaign. Many organisations were set up for launching this propaganda and the strings of the entire propaganda machinery is kept in the hands of the ISI. According to the data collected by Ram Bahadur Rai, these organisations, inspired by Pakistan, organised 29 demonstrations in America, Britain and in front of the UN headquarters. As many as 2237 Kashmiri Muslims and Pakistanis participated in these demonstrations. In order to rake up the Kashmir issue the Government engineered 75 demonstrations in Pakistan. One such demonstration was held in Rawalpindi in which the JKLF Chief, Amanullah Khan, delivered a speech. In the Lahore demonstration Newaz Sharief incited people.

Organisations active in foreign countries are actually a top in the hands of the ISI which dance at the tune of this intelligence agency. There are seven such organisations active in America and nine organisations are being run in Britain with the help of Pakistan High Commission in London. The Government of India has received proof of it. These organisations have staged demonstrations in front of the UN headquarters, India House in London and in front of the office of the American

President. In a way Pakistan has accepted its interference in Kashmir by launching anti-India propaganda in foreign countries with Kashmir policy as the base. Whatever issues are used for this propaganda, the desire of the people of Kashmir for liberation is being given emphasis. The Foreign Ministry in Pakistan keeps on playing up the theme of anarchy in Kashmir where it is said militants hold the sway. The Ministry keeps on repeating that Jammu and Kashmir w s never a part of India, the Indian Army is committing atrocities on the militants, India's charge that Pakistan is interfering in Kashmir is false and India is hatching a conspiracy in Kashmir.

In this context the Amir of Jamait-e-Islami of Pakistan Qazi Hussain, tried to give Islamic tinge to the Kashmir problem by writing letters to the Government of Muslim countries, two years ago. A delegation under the leadership of the same leader toured Saudi Arab, Turkey, Egypt, Sudan, Qatar, Kuwait and the UAE where it supported independence for Kashmir. During a meeting with the Secretary General Muslim League in Saudi Arabia and with other Ulemas the delegation members presented false details about the alleged excesses of the Indian Army on Kashmiris. Pakistan had borne all the expenses of this delegation for Islamisation of Kashmir on the basis of self-determination of Kashmiris.

So called Indian intellectuals strengthen hands of Pakistan

Pakistan took support for its anti-India propaganda from the writings and statements of the so called secular intellectuals who had carried out their mental exercise in investigating into the "Army's excesses in Kashmir". A book published by the Human Rights body has carried articles from V.M. Tarkunde, M. Masani and Nikhil Chakravarti. All the three have contributed to the disinformation campaign launched by Pakistan by their "valuable" opinions. The Foreign Affairs Office of Pakistan has made this book as a strong base for its propaganda. The UN Human Rights, Commission organised its 47th convention in Geneva in which Pakistani representative, M.M. Jaffar,

delivered a speech on the alleged atrocities of India in Kashmir.

In 1990 the then Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms Benazir Bhutto, toured the eight member states of Organisation of Islamic Conference including Damascus, Ankara, Oman, Tunisia and Cairo where she pleaded for help from Muslim countries to Pakistan regarding Kashmir in the name of Islam. On April 26, 1990 Pakistan Foreign Minister, Sahibzada Yaqub Khan submitted a letter to the President UN Security Council in which he had accused India and the Indian Army of violation of human rights in Kashmir. Pakistan had sought support from the reports of five organisations in order to give credence to the allegations. These organisations are the Committee for Initiative on Kashmir, Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties, Citizens for Democracy, Radical Humanist Association and Human Unity Campaign.

The above facts reveal that Pakistan not only indulged in direct interference but also launched its poisonous anti-India campaign in a systematic way on the international level. Some organisations of the so called secular intellectuals and lovers of humanity in India too supplemented the disinformation campaign launched by Pakistan. The then Governor, Jagmohan, has given an account of the partisan role of one among such much talked about organisations, the Committee for initiative on Kashmir.

According to Jagmohan, the Committee deliberately did not condemn the killing of innocent people by the terrorists. On the contrary, it holds the paramilitary forces guilty who had only two options, either to get killed or fire in self-defence and chase the criminals for nabbing them. There can be no other harmful way for demoralising the security forces than adopt a partisan role and test them on the touchstone of concocted details of the agents of terrorists. The Committee listened to the one-sided and exaggerated details of an incident of an Assistant Engineer but it has no time to listen to the wails and woes of the relations of that BSF young doctor whose body had been ridden with bullets when he was going to treat the injured on both the sides. Out of anger the Committee concealed all the human facts on the basis of which Jagmohan had formulated

his policies. And this was done only to denigrate the Governor's rule and give it a demonic shape. It totally ignored the statements of Jagmohan connected with his humane approach and policies and his Radio and Television broadcasts and telecasts, letters and statements in which stress had been given for unity and co-operation. But history, according to Jagmohan, does not sit in the lap of these manipulators for long. The truth exposes the falsehood and the guilty either gets lost in nothingness or gets buried under the heap of falsehood.

The Committee thought it proper to prepare a base for Pakistan's disinformation campaign in order to simply oppose Jagmohan by twisting the facts and by giving a bad name to the Army. Pakistan repeated the report of the Committee in all world fora.

Zia-ul-Haq's direction to the proxy war

Pakistan used this propaganda as a shield for the activities of the pro-Pakistan terrorists and under its cover started sending infiltrators into Kashmir. The Pakistan plan of sending infiltrators, infiltrating them in the Kashmir administration and then organise their subversive activities was exposed by a speech of former Pakistan President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, which was published by Jamat-e-Islami in its book "Hizbe Islam". This speech gives information about the long plan of Pakistan's interference in India to grab Kashmir. This plan has been named by Pakistan "Operation Topac". Some excerpts of Gen. Zia's speech deserve a mention here:

He said : "In the first phase this infiltration will assist Kashmiri brothers. In order to seize state administration they will organise political disruption. Muslim United Front (MUF) is engaged in a conspiracy under different constitutional forms so that the administration is established and the entire Government machinery is paralysed... In the Beginning we have to create conditions for launching unarmed and armed campaigns against the State administration...we want infiltration of our men in the administration so that work in the police, banks, transport, communications and in other departments is

paralysed..the scheme needs to be implemented in such a way as the telecommunications links not only between Jammu and Kashmir but also between Kashmir and Ladakh are snapped. All these schemes have to be implemented secretly. There is need for a special attention towards the roads leading to Kargil, Zojilla and Khardungla..."

"Islam is our goal. Quran is our constitution. Jehad is our path. War till victory, God is great. The war of Hizb is pronounced: Allah-u-Akbar. The call of Hizb is beware of India."

"Koushar Samachar", a monthly magazine, has in its March 1990 issue, published Gen. Zia's speech and details about the "Operation Topac" and Pakistan's interference in Kashmir. "There should be no mistake, our aim is totally clear and strong: Liberation of Kashmir valley. We cannot now allow our Kashmiri brethren to remain with India for a long time. In the past we banked on unarmed military camapigns, that is why we failed. Therefore, now, as I have already said it, we shall continue our military action, as per the requirement, till the overthrow of the Government. Though the people of the valley are mentally and physically with us, but they are very simple minded people and, therefore, they cannot fight like Punjabis and Afghanis against the foreign rule. Still Kashmiris have some qualities which can be exploited. First, their cleverness and calibre. Secondly, they can rise under pressure and thirdly, their political conspiracy. If we provide them the facilities for using these qualities, they can do our work. In every warfare it is not necessary to use brute force, especially in the conditions that exist in Kashmir, as I have already made it clear...In the first phase, if it was necessary, we can help our Kashmiri brethren to grab power through political subversion and intrigue. I want to make it clear that without the approval of Delhi, no Government can run in Kashmir. It will not be right to believe that the Muslim United Front or any other similar organisation can seize power through democratic or any other means. It should be kept in view that power will remain in the hands of those who have the patronage of Delhi. Therefore, we shall have to ensure that we should select some 'favourite' ruling politicians who will support our political subversion."

"A revolt on a mild scale against the administration so that it remains in the grip but is not paralysed because we do not want Delhi's central rule there. We appoint selected people on important posts. Sabotage and subversion will be carried out in the police force, financial institutions, telecommunications and other essential organisations. We shall spread anti-India feelings among the students and farmers so that they lend their support to riots and anti-Government demonstrations. In order to tackle the paramilitary forces, subversive elements be organised and given training. In order to divert the attention from the Valley, instability and terror be spread in Jammu with the assistance of Sikh militants and even incite Hindus against the Government at critical juncture. Those areas in the valley where the Indian Army has not been deployed should be taken under the control. The southern area in the Kashmir Valley should become such a region."

"In order to force the Indian Army to set up reserve pickets out of the main Valley of Kashmir, mount pressure on them in Siachin, Kargil and Rajouri sectors. Attack and damage the base depots and headquarters of the Army in Srinagar, Pattan, Kupwara, Baramulla, Bandipore and Chowkibal under a special action plan and at fixed time. Till then Afghan Mujahideen, staying in Azad Kashmir, will infiltrate through selected routes in order to extend our area of influence. There is need for formulating a comprehensive and deep policy. We have many lessons from the 1965 Operation Gibralter. In the end, a special force under the leadership of retired Officers from Azad Kashmir will be set up in collaboration with the Afghans which will destroy airfields, Radio station, block Banihal tunnel and damage Kargil-Leh national highway. Pressure will be mounted internally in the adjacent areas in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir during certain phases of these attacks."

"For the liberation of Kashmir and establishment of Islamic state, under the third phase, with the blessings of God, arrangements have been made for the supply of huge quantities of modern arms and ammunition to the Afghan Mujahideens under the US consignment. This will help our Kashmiri brethren in achieving their goal. We are establishing a type of

'free Kashmir' in some lonely areas of Indian occupied Kashmir. Next step will not be as difficult as it appears today. In these circumstances, there is need for an atmosphere of uncertainty in the State. In the end I warn you again that this belief is harmful that we can defeat India in direct attack. Therefore, we have to launch light military campaign so that the Indians do not suspect us and do not attack at the fixed time and at the selected spot. This should not happen atleast till the completion of the first and second phases of the operation. Since there may be need for restructuring our schemes and work-plan in certain conditions, we shall have to review the direction of the operation after every phase."

Gen. Zia had delivered this speech at a highly secret meeting in Islamabad on April 18, 1988. The excerpts of this speech give a picture of the proxy war launched by Pakistan against India. And the name of this action is "Operation Topac" which is being carried out now under the guidance of Pakistan President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan. An editorial in an English daily "Muslim", published in Pakistan, has given an account of this strategy of Pakistan. The editorial says that Gen. Zia-ul-Haq had formulated a plan for creating violence on a small scale in the beginning and gradually on a large scale in Kashmir by carrying out joint attacks on the Army on which implementation had begun with the help of some fundamentalists and anti-India groups. An indication of this war-strategy had been given by a Pakistan expert who had said that if India continued to fight a defensive battle in Kashmir against those demanding liberation, one day the Kashmiri separatists will turn into an Army and measure swords with the Indian Army without giving any trouble to Pakistani Army.

Therefore, it is evident that the longer the proxy war runs, the better it will prove for Pakistan. The strength of the Indian forces would be ridiculed and the question of Kashmir will be moulded in Islamic form.

From Operation Gibralter (1965) to Operation Topac (1988)

India continues to delay in understanding the Pakistan's plans and conspiracies despite a clear announcement of Pakistan

President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who had said that Pakistan "is incomplete without Kashmir". India's laziness in giving a befitting reply is the biggest success of Pakistan and a major encouragement for its continued interference. It is because of this that repeated warnings of serious consequences from India are thrown in waste paper basket by the Pakistani rulers who keep on increasing their interference. What else can be ridiculous than this that Pakistan, on our soil, is encouraging our youths (misguided) in battling against our troops for completing its unfinished task which it could not complete through three direct wars.

In the context of the international situation, the Pakistani rulers have realised that it cannot succeed in grabbing Kashmir either by indirect or declared war. In the light of geographical and military position of India, Pakistan had realised that in the heat of war against a country of the size of India, the existence of Pakistan remains in danger. Therefore, it has changed its war strategy.

The background of this new war strategy was Pakistan's 44 years' of experience and especially its rejection of the advice the Chinese Premier, Chou-En-Lai, had given during the 1965 war against India. At that time the then Pakistan Foreign Minister, Z.A. Bhutto, had, after prolonged consultations with Army commanders, formulated the plan for "Operation Gibralter".

Navbharat Times, in its issue of January 17, 1970, had given an account of this plan. As per the "Operation" Pakistan attempted at infiltrating thousands of infiltrators from the so called Azad Kashmir routes into the Indian border villages. Its aim was that at the time of Pak invasion these infiltrators would terrorise the local people and guide the Pakistani troops. The Chinese Prime Minister, Chou-En-lai, had given vital information to Pakistan in order to make some amendments in the operation. The obstinacy and excitement on the part of the Army officers did not enable them to render the suggestion. The "Operation Gibralter" was started but Pakistan had to face defeat because of the courage, bravery and wisdom of the Indian soldiers. At that time the seeds of separatism had been

sown in Kashmir but they had not sprouted yet. The inclination and the mind that were needed for making the "Operation Gibralter" a success was missing among the Kashmiri youths. The base on which the "Operation Gibralter" had been started was not strong. The Indian Army officers shattered the dreams of Pakistan.

And now Pakistan launched the proxy war in the name of "Operation Topac". The entire scheme was formulated by former military dictator of Pakistan, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq. According to well-known journalist, Altaf Gowhar, Pakistan's proxy war is amended version of "Operation Gibralter" and is based on the suggestions of Chou-En-Lai and has been named as "Operation Topac". The "Operation Topac" type prolonged campaign used to be carried out during the heyday of imperialism. The Soviety Union too had adopted a similar plan in Mangolia, Yugoslavia, Chakoslavakia, Hungary where an attempt had been made to covert the youth into communism. The "Operation Topac" is the result of these experiences and war strategies.

During the 1965 Operation Gibralter Pakistan nationals had been infiltrated into Kashmir for carrying out acts of violence, sabotage and subversion. Now under the Operation Topac the youths indulging in violence are not Pakistani nationals but Kashmiri youths born in India who have been indoctrinated by Mullahs and Molvis and shown the dream of independent Kashmir. The study of the military analysis of the Operation indicates that Pakistan is achieving success in its aim. The Operation Topac has four main aims.

1. Giving training to Kashmiri youths in the handling of sophisticated weapons.
2. To destabilise and discourage the state administration.
3. To make the Kashmir valley a Hinduless Muslim area.
4. To prepare Kashmiri Muslims for "Jehad".

Success of "Operation Topac"

Anyone having the capacity to think can visualise the success of the above mentioned operation and the conspiracy.

In August 1988 the then Governor Jagmohan wrote a letter in the Times of India which gives a graphic description of the aims and objectives of Operation Topac. 'The drum beaters of fundamentalism are beating their drums round the clock, violence and disruption are on the increase. The dark shadows of the events from across the border are spreading. Weapons of destruction are being smuggled into Kashmir. Atrocities and exploitation are spoiling the face of democracy. The entire fabric has been weakened by weak and lose threads.

In the above mentioned proxy war Pakistan nowhere is seen on the surface. Kashmiri Muslim youths, trained in the camps run by Pakistan and the Pakistani Army officers, are fighting the war. In the camps in Pakistan, youths from the Kashmir valley are being indoctrinated and given training in sabotage and in handling of sophisticated weapons. Fundamentalist leaders in the valley have been, during the last many years, enticing, through force, money and religion, innocent youths who are sent to Pakistan. These very youths are trained in sophisticated weapons and then equipped with arms are sent back to Kashmir with Pakistani troops giving them fire cover during the infiltration. Many arrested terrorists have revealed the facts of the plans.

The second aim of "Operation Topac" for destabilising the state administration has been fulfilled. It is the rule of the anti-national terrorists in Kashmir these days. Their rules and laws are in force. Shops, Government offices, industrial units, educational institutions etc. are open or get closed under their instructions. The JKAP, which has almost 100 per cent Muslim recruits, has not only become defunct but majority of the policemen assist fully the separatists. The administration has become a toy in the hands of militants. It is nothing but success of the Operation Topac when the administration is unwilling to arrest militants and even after their arrest is keen to get them released. The CRPF and the Army soldiers are an obstacle. They are performing their duties firmly. It is a separate matter that they are not given a free hand.

The third aim of the operation was to create a Muslim region in Kashmir and that too has been fulfilled. More than

three lakh Kashmiri Hindus have been thrown out of the valley. Having become refugees in their own country they are facing punishment for their dedication and love of religion. These Kashmiri Hindus, victim of rape, bloodshed, arson and loot, who were the base for India and Indianness in Kashmir, are leading a life worse than those of beggars. By uprooting them, Pakistan has grabbed that very land on which the Government of India, the Army and the people had been facing the Pakistani conspiracies for the last 40 years. The biggest success of the proxy war has been the mass exodus of Hindus from Kashmir.

The fourth aim of the Operation Topac is too marching forward to success. Islamisation of Kashmiriyat in the Valley has been done. Mentally the people of Kashmir are becoming anti-India. All Muslim leaders of Kashmir, even if they may be congressites, have alienated themselves from India and Indianness. It is worth mentioning here that these Muslim leaders have taken shelter in some foreign lands or in some areas in India where also they are lending assistance to the militants. Leaders of the Kashmiri Muslim society and those belonging to the National Conference, Jamait-e-Islami, Plebiscite Front, Hizbul Mujahideen, Allah Tigers and the JKLF are all pro-Pakistan organisations which have announced that their goal was complete liberation of Kashmir. The base of their anti-India activities is Islamic fundamentalism. The Muslim of the valley is dreaming of 'Nizame Mustafa' as against the ideas of secularism. The Muslim fundamentalist leaders have succeeded in encouraging the society in Kashmir for rejecting the "enslavement by India". The entire campaign is being successfully organised and run by the Pakistani intelligence agency, the ISI, on the soil of India and in the capitals of many foreign countries. It has also been successful in securing moral, military and economic assistance from Muslims countries after giving to the Kashmir problem the name of Islamic Jehad. Iran, Turkey, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, all Muslim fundamentalist countries, are openly supporting Pakistan.

Amnesty international and other organisations, which claim to be protectors of human rights, observe ostrich type attitude towards the atrocities being committed by the terror-

ists in Kashmir. While shedding crocodile tears on any simple incident in any part of the world, these organisations have not spoken a word on the inhuman atrocities committed on the three lakh Hindus of Kashmir. They falter in condemning the criminal and ignoble activities of the Pak-trained terrorists. It is regrettable that these organisations do not stop levelling false charges against the Indian Army which is aimed at demoralising the Jawans. Pakistan has succeeded in making many countries to say that settlement of the Kashmir problem can be worked out on the negotiating table. It means that Pakistan while continuing the proxy war, would make India to search for the possibilities of the dialogue without resorting to an attack. Under the Shimla Agreement Pakistan had achieved success in making it the base for a dialogue. Even while securing the release of 90,000 war prisoners and return of thousands of square kilometers of areas from the Indian occupation, Bhutto succeeded in converting the cease-fire line into the Line of Actual Control. The same LAC became the base for future negotiations and on the basis of it Pakistan has become a party to the matters connected with Kashmir. The purpose of the negotiations is to facilitate Pakistan to grab the remaining area of Kashmir after having forcibly occupied two-third area of Kashmir.

Apology from BBC

Pakistan is successfully banking on disinformation and lies for making the Operation Topac a success. There in Pakistan newspapers, Radio and television are presenting news about Kashmir in such a twisted way as it appears that the Indian Army is committing grave excesses on Kashmiri youths. In the second or third week of January BBC (Asia) through Star TV telecast a scene which had depicted heinous activities of the terrorists but the same events were presented by Pakistan on its television in a totally different way alongwith its commentary. The pictures of the injured in the hospitals were projected in such a way as if they were victims of the Indian Army. They were shown demanding independence. The

BBC and the Star TV protested to Pakistan against stealing illegally the report. Pakistan has given in writing to the BBC that in future such a mistake will not be repeated. But such activities and playing hide and seek are part of the Operation Topac.

Nawaz Sharif : a trickster

Inciting youth in Pakistan occupied Kashmir, infiltrating them from across the border into Kashmir under the military umbrella, and the arrest of Amanullah Khan in order to deceive the world are different Pakistani tricks. On the second day of the ban on the JKLF March on February, 11 Pakistan Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, said "how long will Pakistan Government stop them ? There is no change in its policy and stand on Kashmir". The same Nawaz Sharif had told friendly and sweet talks with the Indian Prime Minister, Narasimaha Rao, two months earlier, and soon after those talks he gave a call for Bandh in Pakistan against India. Four years ago Sahibzada Yaqub Khan had held talks with Prime Minister V.P. Singh for creating a congenial atmosphere on the Kashmir problem and on returning to his country he had said "If the excesses of the Indian Army in Kashmir were not stopped, it will lead to war". Pakistan is telling a white lie to the world that it has no atomic bomb but now even the American Foreign Secretary has confirmed reports that Pakistan has nuclear capabilities. Pakistan leased out part of Gilgit to China thereby deceiving India. In return, China is providing assistance to Pakistan.

Do not repeat Prithviraj

The above mentioned facts clearly indicate that Pakistan has launched a proxy war against India in Kashmir which is being carried successfully on the shoulders of Kashmiri youths. It is that form of war which is being fought on our soil, with our money and against our people. Pakistan has not staked anything but we have staked everything. Therefore, we should not hesitate in declaring a war to counter this proxy war. There is need for replying to Pakistan in the language it understands,

because the question does not relate to Kashmir and Kashmiri Hindus but to the integrity and sovereignty of the entire nation. Any laxity shown in this respect can lead to the balkanisation of the country. Try to understand the trickery of Pakistan and its leaders. Give up too much of liberalism, the politics of opportunism and appeasement of Muslims and the counter productive secularism and take solid steps for the integrity of the nation. Pakistan President, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, be told in plain terms that if Pakistan is incomplete without Kashmir, India is incomplete without Pakistan. We too have to complete the half won indepedence. Lest there should be any repetition of Mohd. Gouri-Prithivraj episode in which Prithviraj kept on forgiving Gouri for 16 times and when on the 17th occasion Mohd. Gouri won the battle, he gouged out the eyes of Prithviraj. While keeping in mind these historical experiences, there is need for adopting a practical approach and face the enemy boldly.

24

Islamic Fanaticism of Self-determination

The Kashmir question, which is pending in the files of the UN Security Council for a long time, has become a question for the jurisdiction of the Security Council. The way the Security Council has kept this dispute hanging for 45 years is by itself an indication that the settlement of this dispute is beyond the scope of the Council. The Security Council has made the dispute insolvable by keeping the matter hanging illegally and immorally.

In reality India had taken the matter to the Security Council only for the purpose of persuading Pakistan to stop aggression and make arrangements for returning the territory it had occupied. And till now the Security Council has failed to implement the demand which India had made and instead it placed the matter in the web of confusion of the terms of "self-determination" and "accession" making its position ridiculous. After realising the realities of the then political events people understand the truth that the terms "self-determination" and "accession" have lost their meaning following full accession of Kashmir with India. The jurisdiction of India, Pakistan and the Security Council has ended so far the question of self-determination and accession is concerned. How and why anyone can be given the right to reopen the question of the accession when on October 27, 1947 the state's accession with India had been

finalised and under that accession the Indian Army had landed in Kashmir ? There is need for recalling those events.

Self-determination is irrational after full accession

The ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh, signed the accession papers and sent them to the Government of India on October 26, 1947; "Now, therefore, I, Shriman Rajrajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Shri Hari Singh Ji, Jammu Kashmir Naresh Tatha Tibbet adi Deshadhipathi Ruler of Jammu and Kashmir state, in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said state do hereby execute this my instrument of Accession". This way the Maharaja submitted his accession papers which were accepted by the then Governor General, Mountbatten, on October 27, 1947.

After this accession, even India had no right to talk with short-sightedness. Such a purposeless talk had not only insulted the accession proposal of Maharaja Hari Singh but also violated the Independence Act. Under this Act the rulers of the State had been given the right for accession. Nothing had been said about the right of self-determination for the people of the State. In fact Mountbatten was desirous of keeping the fate of Kashmir hanging and he performed this act through Pt. Nehru and R.C. Kak. The Constitution of India was adopted on January 26, 1950 and there was no provision kept for self-determination in the Constitution. Therefore, the Government of India too had no right to talk about this plan. When the Constitution of India has not given the right to Government of India to review the questions of self-determination and accession, it is unconstitutional and illegal for any international organisation to talk anything in the context of India.

The entire dispute should have ended with the ratification of the accession by the Constituent Assembly on November 17, 1956. Both Pakistan and the Security Council have lost any right to talk anything about Kashmir or do anything about it.

The people to whom was connected the question of self-determination were the same people who had elected the

Constituent Assembly which had accepted the accession. This Assembly adopted the Constitution of the State. The clause three of this Constitution makes it clear "Jammu and Kashmir is and will remain inseparable part of India."

The clause four of the Constitution is : The entire area, which was under the control of the ruler of the State till August 15, 1947, will remain within the territory of the State.

On August 15, 1947 the Pakistan held Kashmir was also under the control of the ruler of the State. Therefore, it is evident that the entire Jammu and Kashmir State is an inseparable part of India. The Maharaja had acceeded this undivided state to India. As such occupation of even an inch of the territory of Kashmir by Pakistan will be treated as aggression on India. This clause of the Constitution is further strengthened and shielded by clause 147. According to this clause, clause four cannot be nullified. And the Security Council too loses its right to give guidance and direction to India on matters connected with Kashmir. The Security Council can only advise Pakistan to vacate the Indian territory. And if Pakistan does not accept the suggestion of the Security Council, it can adopt a resolution against it and ask other countries to snap ties with Pakistan. But the Security Council has become a wrestling arena for political groups and as such it will not be wisdom to have any expectations from this powerless and lifeless international body.

Hide and seek of the Security Council

When India wrote to the Security Council about Pakistani aggression, it could do nothing except behaving like a spectator. It kept on adopting one resolution after the other but it could not prevail upon Pakistan to vacate the Indian state after declaring it an aggressor. Had not India unilaterally ordered cease-fire, it would have not only regained its two-third area of Kashmir but the Indian troops could have entered into the Pakistani territory ? At that time the Indian Prime Minister was neither any strong-willed Sarvarkar, nor any Subash or Dr. Hedgewar. Had Sardar Patel been appointed as the Prime

Minister he would have finished the artificial line of partition by directing the Indian Army to march forward. The British had left India and the entire Army was under our control and this way the Congress would have washed away the blot of partition on its forehead. But the Oxford graduate, Nehru, lacked diplomacy and political wisdom.

The settlement of Kashmir became an object for the Security Council for playing hide and seek. On July 4, 1948 the Security Council sent a commission to have an on the spot assessment of the situation. On reaching Karachi, the Commission was told by one Pakistani officer, Sir Zaffarullah Khan, that three brigades of Pakistani Army had been deployed on the Kashmir border. But he called it part of self-defence plan thereby trying to prove that India was an aggressor.

After two years, in September 15, 1950, a similar Commission, headed by an expert on international law, Owen Dixon, came to the following conclusion as a representative of the United Nations.

"When the rebel elements entered into the borders of Jammu and Kashmir, it was violation of the international law. When in May 1947 Pakistani Army entered into this state, it too was a violation of the international law".

This Dixon had charged Pakistan with the open violation of the international law. In reality the Security Council too has accepted Kashmir's accession to India. One American representative of the Security Council had given a statement on February 4, 1948.

He had said : "The external ruler of Kashmir is not now under the control of the Maharaja. With the accession of Jammu and Kashmir with India this right has been vested in the hands of India and on the basis of that right India has placed this question here".

The Security Council deployed UN observers on both sides of the cease-fire line. After that it adopted a resolution calling upon Pakistan to withdraw its troops, citizens and tribals from Kashmir. This way the United Nations accepted the defence aspect of India. But Pakistan, till date, has been violating this direction and resolution. Even after this, Pakistan has turned

down the parleys between India and Pakistan. In August 1953 talks between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan took place where it was agreed to withdraw their troops from Kashmir. But again Pakistan adopted obstinate attitude.

The United Nations has always failed to control such attitude of Pakistan. Pakistan declared open war on India twice and the United Nations succeeded in halting the war but it remained incapable of resolving this dispute. The Security Council did not concentrate on the basic complaint of India which it had submitted to the Council in January, 1948.

Pakistan gained under Simla Agreement

When Pakistan launched an attack on India in 1971, it was defeated by the Indian Army. Its one part got separated to become Bangladesh. It broke the backbone of Pakistan. But the Indian rulers did not think it proper to take advantage of the weakness of Pakistan. There is, now, no importance for such liberal and broadminded attitude in the current international situation. Such liberalism at the cost of country's integrity and security is totally foolish. Had Pakistan emerged victorious and had occupied the Indian territory, no international organisation would have forced it to vacate the territory. The United Nations would have remained helpless. It is being borne out by the attitude adopted so far by Pakistan. The entire world has accepted that Pakistan illegally occupied one-third of Kashmir but Pakistan has not withdrawn from even an inch of the territory. It gained something from the two wars. Only the history of Mohd. Gouri and Prithviraj is being repeated. Prithviraj defeated Mohd. Gouri 16 times but he forgave him all the time. But when on the 17th occasion Mohd. Gouri defeated Prithviraj, he took him to Gazni as a prisoner where his eyes were gouged out and was killed mercilessly.

To what extent is it wisdom to show repeated liberalism towards a country of ethnic character and keep on surrendering all the gains secured by the Army with one stroke of the pen on a negotiating table ? During the talks between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India in Simla, after the 1971 war,

Pakistan could have been asked to give an account of its activities. Pakistan had lost its face in both the wars but on both the occasions India bartered away its battle gains on the diplomatic level.

Neither the policy of liberation of occupied Kashmir was adopted during the two wars nor, after it, a policy was adopted to have control on this side of Kashmir during the talks with Pakistan. When the Simla talks were going on, after the 1971 war, there were 93,000 Pakistani war prisoners with India and 5,000 sq. kms of Pakistani territory with us and besides this Z.A. Bhutto was in our pocket. It was not a political wisdom to leave one-third area of Kashmir which had been occupied by Pakistan and return 93,000 war prisoners. But we accepted, through the Simla Agreement, Pakistan a party to the Kashmir issue.

Prior to this Agreement, there was a cease-fire line between Kashmir and the occupied Kashmir which, by itself, indicated that a war had taken place between the two sides and the enemy had grabbed the Indian territory and a cease-fire had been agreed upon. But under the Simla Agreement this cease-fire line was converted to the Line of Actual Control. This was another victory for Pakistan which it achieved free of cost.

The only gain from this Agreement was that now the Kashmir problem came out of the arena of the United Nations and became a bilateral matter between India and Pakistan.

Now Pakistan has smashed even this "bilateral" term in the dust. It was agreed upon in the Agreement that the two countries will maintain peaceful co-existence on the basis of equality and mutual interest, respect, for mutual regional solidarity and sovereignty and desist from interferring in the internal matters of each other. The two countries will remain committed to maintain cordial neighbourly relations by resolving bilateral disputes through negotiations in order to establish durable peace.

Pakistan rejects this agreement

It is a relevant question as to what extent Pakistan

remained committed to maintaining good relations with India. Has it not interfered in the internal matters of India ? Has it not treated India's liberalism, shown during the Simla Agreement, as an obligation ? The reply to these questions is in the negative.

The matter of self-determination has nowhere been repeated in the Shimla Agreement. That is why the UN Security Council resolution, providing for the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir, has lost its importance. As a matter of routine, old agreements lose their relevance after new agreements and accords are forged. But still Pakistan continues to rake up the old issues. It is a reality that the right of self-determination is being given a religious base. Behind it, is a dangerous but clear principle. Since Kashmir has a Muslim majority, it needs the right for self-determination. It is a powerful challenge to the accepted way of life in India. Self-Determination is a test for secularism, socialism and democracy in India. It should not surprise anyone if in India the Congressites and those who have left the Congress surrender before this challenge. But the painful and important question is that if it happens, who will face the consequences ? As per their approach, the ruling congressites will remain on the sidelines.

Dangerous consequences of self-determination

In order to understand it, there is need for reading the letter which was written by a former Indian President, Dr. Zakir Hussain, and 13 other Indian Muslim intellectuals on August 14, 1951 to the representative of the United Nations, Dr. F.P. Graham. The excerpts of letter are :

It is a strange fact that when the Security Council and its other agencies took up the Kashmir dispute for finding a solution, nobody tried to know the opinion of the Indian Muslims or the possible good or bad impact on the Indian Muslims of the hasty steps taken in Kashmir. We are sure that no durable solution can be found without understanding the condition of Muslims in the Indian society....When the partition

took place, the Muslim League and its leaders left the Indian Muslims to the care of God...If we live honourably in India, it is not because of Pakistan which has weakened our position by its policies and deeds...Under the Constitution of the country our religious and cultural life is secure. We too, like others, will be able to progress through equal opportunities....Our misguided brothers in Pakistan do not realise this that if Pakistan can wage a war against Hindus in Muslim Kashmir, Hindus in India too can avenge it from Muslims, later or sooner...This type of policy can lead to difficulties and miseries for India and Pakistan in general and the Indian Muslims in particular. Pakistan's policies in general and its attitude towards Kashmir in particular can create such conditions in this country which, in the long run, can cause limitless difficulties and destruction for we Muslims...Therefore, we want to tell you firmly that Pakistan's Kashmir policy is loaded with danger for the four crore Indian Muslims. If the Security Council is desirous of peace, brotherhood and international goodwill, it should take cognisance of this warning.

The above letter to the international body like the Security Council has not been written by a leader of Hindu Mahasabha, Shiv Sena, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Arya Samaj or Sanatan Dharam but by 14 top Muslim intellectuals including Nawabs, ministers, office bearers of several Muslim organisations and judges.

Pakistan and terrorists should learn a lesson from history. The right of self-determination can result in upheavel in India and Pakistan. If Pakistan clamours, at the international level, in favour of the right of self-determination for Muslims in Kashmir because it is a Muslim majority region, this international pressure can be experienced in its many areas. What shape the "Jai Sindh" movement will assume, Pakistan has to keep it in mind though it is using all the force to crush it. On the same religious base M.A. Jinnah had partitioned the country resulting in the destruction of lakhs of Hindus and their massacre. The two communities were filled with poison. Does Pakistan want to repeat the same history ? Making a separate nationalism the base for settlement of the Kashmir

problem will mean that the principle of two-nation theory, which took birth at the time of the partition, had not yet been buried. This will keep on taking rebirths. The borders of India will shrink. Wherever Muslims are in majority, the rule of the right of self-determination be applied and Hindus be thrown out and allow Muslims, in the remaining portion of the country, a chance to lead a happy life and keep on increasing their population. And when they emerge as a majority, again apply the principle of right of self-determination, which will be repetition of history. This is the lesson from Kashmir.

No relation between separatism and unity

Pakistan is mistaken if it always expects the same liberalism from the Indian leadership as it demonstrated at the time of the partition. The wave of national awakening has started in India. The days of hollow idealism of secularism are over and whosoever will try to clash with the wave a national awakening will be swept by it. A well-known journalist, M. V. Kamath has, in his article in Navbharat Times on February 11, 1990, given a lovely analysis of the right of self-determination:

'India has been built on the benevolent doctrine of co-existence so that people belonging to different communities will live under one umbrella. On the other side separatism sprouted out of hunger for power on the part of organisations like All India Muslim Conference and many other leaders. The foundation of India rests on the philosophy of unity. The two ideologies are, therefore, contradictory. There can be no union between separatism and unity. These two principles clash in Kashmir. Pakistan is talking about self-determination and India about co-existence. If eight crore Muslims can live in amity in India, why cannot 40 lakh Muslims live in Kashmir ? India is struggling to preserve this country as a land of unity where people belonging to different sects and speaking different languages can live. Giving up Kashmir will amount to betrayal of this principle. It is a question of trust and faith for India on which India is alive and without it India is meaningless. India does not want to get destroyed and it is this faith that testifies

the real existence of India. Destroy this value and faith and then everything will be meaningless....Jammu and Kashmir, by remaining a part of India, is the base for secularism in India. In 1946-47 India was liberal towards Muslim communalism because at that time the strings were in the hands of a third power, Britain. But the situation is different today. India accepts the existence of Pakistan not because it accepts that principle on which it was born but because today it is a practical policy. After this there is no scope for losing even an inch. Pakistani leaders shall have to take note of it.

The land on which Pakistan is standing and talking about the right of self-determination, the same land is slipping under its feet. But Pakistani leaders do not learn a lesson from it and it does not look towards the growing rebellious atmosphere in Sindh, Baluchistan and Pakhtoon area. Even being followers of Islam they do not want to live in Pakistan. Why does not Pakistan control the rebellion by giving it a religious dimension ? Why does not Pakistan give them the right of self-determination ? Pakistan has not learnt anything from the bitter experience of Bangladesh. Still Pakistani leaders keep on nourishing the hollow and sandy principles of "nation on the basis of religion".

Pakistan may disintegrate

It seems the more Pakistan makes the appeal for religion, the more danger it faces in its disintegration. The concept of religion in the base of the nation gives birth to diversity. Nehru has commented on the principle of "Muslim nation" In his autobiography :

According to Nehru, Muslim nation in India is nation within a nation and it has no solid shape but its form is faint, diverse and uncertain. Politically the idea is fallacious, economically meaningless and is not worth consideration. Why to give thought to it...Therefore, the talk of Muslim nation means that there is nothing like 'nation' but it is merely a religious addition and subtraction. It also means that no opportunity be given to any nation of new ideas to grow. It also means that we

should divorce the new civilisation and should retreat to the middle ages. Its meaning also is that either there be a dictatorial Government or a foreign rule. And in the end there be a world of emotion where there is no desire, deliberate or indeliberate, to face the realities especially the economic reality. But the idea of Muslim nation is simply imaginary and incongruous amalgam of different ideas. Had not newspapers played it up, not many people would have known its name. And if many people have faith in it, they will wither away like the touch-me-not while clashing with reality.

The above statement makes it clear that a man like Pt. Nehru who laid the foundation of politics based on appeasement of Muslims, in India, too, did not accept the religious fanaticism.

Pakistan does not touch the Shimla Agreement in its disinformation campaign which it has launched against India in the international field. Violation of this Accord is itself the basis for its proxy war. The Shimla accord between the Government of India and Pakistan is a political agreement. By accepting this Accord Pakistan loses the bud of the right of self-determination and it also harms its policy of interference in the internal matters of India and in encouraging terrorism. Shimla Agreement is again an obstacle in the campaign of terrorism and separatism launched by Pakistan on the international level. That is why Pakistan has started terrorism directly and has been equating militancy with "peoples' movement".

It is international terrorism and not people's movement

One Professor of International Law in Jammu University Dr. T.N. Shalla, read a paper at an International Conference on the situation in Jammu and Kashmir, organised in London on 26-27 October, 1991, in which he termed the Pakistani published people's movement as "international terrorism". He supported his theory with the definition of international terrorism given by famous scholar of law and political science, Nicholas. International terrorism has been defined by Nicholas as :

"The use or threat of use, of anxiety—inducing extra-normal violence for political purposes by any individual or group whether acting for or in opposition to established governmental authority, when such action is intended to influence the attitudes and behaviour of a target group wider than the immediate victims and when, through the nationality or foreign ties of its perpetrators, its location, the nature of its institutional or human victims, or the mechanics of its resolution, its ramification transcend national boundaries."

By now it has been well recognised that indiscriminate killing of ordinary citizens, women and children under the shield of liberation struggle falls within the ambit of international terrorism. In fact, the terrorists discredit the very idea of any revolutionary struggle. For the ends never justify the means. Terrorism is undeniably criminal conduct and to grant any political exception to offenders who have perpetrated indiscriminate death and destruction upon innocent third parties is a patent denial of the rule of law.

Under International Law, the States are responsible for the hostile actions of private individuals on its soil against neighbouring friendly countries. This becomes all the more clear, when there are proofs to the open complicity and connivance by the State. There is the duty on a state to prevent within its borders political terrorist activities directed against foreign states. Such a duty was expressed in Art. 4 of the Draft Declaration on the Rights and Duties of States prepared by the International Law Commission in 1949. The Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance with the United Nation Charter, adopted by the General Assembly in 1970, proclaims that "no State shall organise, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, or interfere in civil strife in another state". Again the duty was affirmed on February 2, 1971 in Art. 8 of the convention to Prevent and Punish Acts of Terrorism approved by the General Assembly of the Organisation of American States (OAS) and in S.VI of the Helisinki Declaration adopted

on August 1, 1975 by thirty European States, the Holy See, the United States and Canada wherein the declaring states pledged themselves to "refrain from direct or indirect assistance to terrorist activities".

The draft definition of "aggression", drawn-up in 1933 by the committee on Security Questions of the League of Nations, included as an act of aggression "provision of support to armed bands formed in its territory which have invaded the territory of another state, or refusal, notwithstanding the request of the invaded state, to take in its own territory all measures in its power to deprive those bands of all assistance or protection".

The Draft Code of Offences against the Peace and Security of Mankind prepared by the International Law Commission is more explicit. The relevant articles read and bracket the following acts as tentamount to aggression.

(4) The organisation, or the encouragement of the organisation, by the authorities of a State of armed bands within its territory or any other territory for incursion into the territory of another state, or the toleration of the organisation of such bands in its own territory, or the toleration of the use by such armed bands of its territory as a base of operations or as a point of departure for incursions into the territory of another state, as well as direct participation in or support of such incursions.

(5) The undertaking or encouragement by the authorities of a State of activities calculated to foment civil strife in another state, or the toleration by the authorities of a state of organised activities calculated to foment civil strife in another state.

(6) The undertaking or encouragement by the authorities of a state of terrorist activities in another state, or the toleration by the authorities of authorities of a state of organized activities calculated to carry out terrorist acts in another state".

Declare Pakistan a terrorist state

Pakistan is not only encouraging terrorism on the soil of India but is also organising it. This way it is violating both the Shimla Agreement and the international law. Last year L.K.

Advani, BJP leader, put up a solid and sound suggestion at a party convention. He laid emphsis on declaring Pakistan a terrorist state. Sh. Advani had requested the Government of India to submit such a proposal before the United Nations and other international organisations in order to try for declaring Pakistan a terrorist state by the world community. The External Affairs Ministry has to play a vital role in this direction. In the context of the changing situation in the world if we slightly give a twist to our foreign policy the suggestion of Advaniji can be given a practical shape in the interest of our country.

Many countries in the world are today affected and tormented by terrorism. Any attempt to face it on the international level can succeed. A political awakening is taking shape in the entire world against Islamic fundamentalism. Many countries have adopted a law for countering this fundamentalism. Therefore, India can increase the number of friendly countries by taking up the question of terrorism, which is the product of fundamentalism, in the world. This can gag the mouth of Pakistan's religious disinformation campaign. Getting Pakistan declared a terrorist state is important because of the disintegration of the Soviet Union which alone has sided with India on the question of Kashmir despite the two wars. Whatever India has lost or gained from this disintegration of the Soviet Union is a separate matter, but Pakistan has taken advantage of it and has stepped up its attempts at the formation of the Islamic group. As such, preventing Pakistan from forming such a group will be the touchstone of our foreign policy. India can achieve success in this respect by getting Pakistan declared as a terrorist state. Many countries will like to support India against this fundamentalism. And if the Government of India did not fulfil the need of the hour, the clouds of danger to its integrity may become thicker.

This time terrorists in Kashmir are divided in two camps. One group favours merger of Kashmir with Pakistan and the other is in favour of an independent state. But the two agree to secede from India. Pakistan favours secession but is in a fix over the struggle for independence. By preventing JKLF leader

Amanullah Khan from crossing the border and by opening fire on the JKLF demonstrators in occupied Kashmir, Pakistani leaders have given a clear indication of this indecision. But on the second day Pakistan Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, said that the settlement of Kashmir has to be worked out by Kashmiris together which indicates changing policy of Pakistan. Pakistan has changed the definition of self-determination. Initially Pakistan had hoped that a referendum on the basis of the right of self-determination would give an opportunity to the people of Kashmir to decide whether they would remain with India or accede to Pakistan. But now Pakistan has been forced to think of another option of independent Kashmir.

Pakistan cannot organise terrorist activities in Kashmir if terrorist youths in occupied Kashmir rise in revolt against Islamabad. Majority of the training camps for militants are in Occupied Kashmir and the infiltration routes also pass from this region. Therefore, Pakistan has changed its strategy. An independent Kashmir can be as much dangerous as Pakistan is for India. Pakistan, on the basis of independent Kashmir, can organise the organisation of Islamic countries to its advantage and can further encourage terrorism in Kashmir. Therefore, there should be no delay on the part of India in getting Pakistan declared a terrorist state. It is considered sound diplomacy if an armed attack is replied with an armed invasion.

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Problem having its Roots in Religious Fanaticism

The basis of Kashmir problem is neither economic backwardness nor political suffocation. Its roots are in the froth of religious fanaticism which are being nourished both by India and Pakistan.

As a result of our aimless and weak policies, Kashmiri youths have, with open support from Pakistan, taken up the spears for the Islamic Jehad. The programme of Islamisation in Kashmir, which is on in Kashmir for the last several years, is being given final shape. The mass exodus of Kashmiri Pandits has left the Valley Hinduless. Conspiracies for removing all the Indian symbols in Kashmir are being hatched. Temples have been destroyed. The ancient names of towns and roads have been changed and Muslim names have been given to them. The Indira Gandhi airport has become now Mohamad Ali Jinnah airport. "Aslam alekum" has replaced Namaskar on Srinagar Doordarshan. Watches have Pakistan timings. People take pride in burning of the Constitution of India and the Indian flag. Sanskrit words are being deleted from the Kashmiri language and are being replaced by Arabic words. The first phase of total indepedence for Kashmir was to oust Hindus from the Valley. Success has been achieved in this respect. The second phase was to destabilise and paralyse the state administration in which also success has been attained. Now the third process of guerrilla attacks on the Army are being undertaken to complete the third phase. Terrorists rule Kashmir these days.

The intellecutals deserve pity because they avoid standing on the ground of reality by putting on the mask of so called secularism when they treat the grave situation in Kashmir as a result of economic backwardness and political suffocation. If they stop playing in their make-believe world and start search for realism, the real face of the problem will become as clear as the daylight. There is neither anything like poverty or political discrimination in Kashmir. The entire trouble is the product of religious fanaticism. The reality is that after independence our rulers, in the intoxication of appeasement, gave more political and economic facilities to Kashmir than to any other state. Not only this : they made available all facilities and amenities to the Kashmir valley at the cost of the rights of the people of the two other regions of the State, Jammu and Ladakh. Under the umbrella of Article 370 whatever maximum political and economic facilities were made available to Kashmir strengthened and deepended religious fundamentalism of Kashmiri youths.

Prosperous Kashmiri Muslims

Ignoring the population ratio, the Assembly seats in the Valley are more than what it is in the Jammu region. There is majority of Kashmiris in the Government services and hitherto, only a Kashmiri Muslim has remained the Chief Minister of the State. The number of ministers in the council of ministers is more from the Valley. Despite the fact that Kashmir has been considered the centre for political activities, the talk of political suffocation being the root cause of the current problem is bankruptcy of wisdom.

As far as the area is concerned, Kashmir Valley is one eighth of the total area of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. But the major share of the State's revenue and the Central assistance is being spent on Kashmir. The 95 per cent of the budget of the Tourism Department is spent on Kashmir. The headquarters of all the 11 State Corporations are in Srinagar. Between 33 and 35 senior Government officers, secretaries, are from Kashmir. It is so because the population of Muslims is

more in Kashmir. The height of discrimination became evident when veterinary hospital and college, Dental care centre, artificial limb centre, which were allotted for Jammu, were set up in Kashmir. All major industries including cement factory, HMT watch factory, telephone factory, television unit, Government press, textile industry etc. are being developed in Kashmir. Medical college, Engineering college, Agricultural University and other educational institutions are in Kashmir. Major share of the State budget is being spent in Kashmir. Out of 2876 villages in Kashmir 2086 villages have been connected with main roads. More than 70 per cent seats in Srinagar Medical college are given to the Muslim students. It may be mentioned here that the Sher-e-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences at Soura in Srinagar has become a centre for militants. The Kashmir University and the Regional Engineering College in Srinagar have become centres for the militants because of the majority of Muslim students. As a result of liberal financial assistance from the centre and on account of petro-dollars from the Arab world, people of Kashmir have become more prosperous and rich than people in rest of India. Even the Government figures reveal that the per capita income in Kashmir is higher than any area in the country, except for Delhi and Bombay. Who can convince our intellectuals and politicians that in comparison to Kashmir there is major economic backwardness in Jammu and Ladakh regions. So far as political rights are concerned these two regions live in suffocation. Had political injustice and economic backwardness been the cause for terrorism, the Jammu and Ladakh regions should have witnessed it much before it took roots in Kashmir. Those who in their mental exercise try to trace the genesis of the problem to economic backwardness should stop such exercise when Jagmohan's suggestion for absorbing Kashmiri youths in a separate battalion of the BSF and for appointing 5,000 educated youths as Government teachers was turned down on the plea that "we do not want it, we want an independent Islamic republic". Experience has made it clear that the more money Government of India spends in Kashmir, the more religious

fanaticism and exploitation are witnessed in Kashmir.

A former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Junejo, had told the National Assembly, while speaking on the Kashmir issue that the riches of Kashmiri Muslims would prove helpful for Pakistan. This fact now stands established that the pace of Islamisation increased because of wealth in Kashmir. It is because of riches that a mosque on the pattern of Mecca was built in Srinagar. Fundamentalists from outside the state have been posted on top posts in Government institutions. In place of Sanskritised Kashmiri language, Persanised Urdu has been made the official language. Money has played an important role in destroying fully the old links with India and the result is that nobody talks about the world famous Kashyap Rishi, Avantivarman, Lalitaditya and Kalhana. Mohammad Iqbal of Pakistan is considered there a great philosopher. India is now considered a foreign nation in Kashmir. The Indian Army has to listen to the insulting slogan of "Indian dogs, go back." The suspected leaders like Mufti Syed and Dr. Farooq Abdullah keep on shedding crocodile tears over the dreadful situation in Kashmir when in the initial stages they too had favoured Islamisation and even today they are supporters of separate political existence in the Valley. Outwardly they feign support for India's integrity and unity.

Incitement to religious fanaticism

Whatever is happening in Kashmir, it is not an ordinary reaction, a hartal or satyagrah but a revolt based on separatism. It is an anti-national volcano born out of Islamic fundamentalism which the fundamentalist organisations have, through conspiracies during the last 45 years, promoted it. In the schools run by Jamait-e-Islami boys were taught the lessons on fundamentalism and separatism. In the name of propagation of Islam a powerful campaign was launched in the mosques against the Indian nationalism. All these religious activities and campaigns have received support from the successive state Governments. The support of the state administration was fully made available.

At the time of the partition of India Maharaja Hari Singh finalised Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India and Sheikh Abdullah assumed power. Soon after his assumption of power Sheikh Abdullah's first speech in Lal Chowk was itself the beginning of communal fundamentalism in Kashmir. He kept on inciting religious fanaticism by repeating the Kalima in his speech. He had said in a loud voice "We have picked up the crown from the dust. Whether we accede to India or to Pakistan, it is a secondary matter. we have to first complete our independence". What does complete independence mean ? At the time of their accession 600 states did not say anything like this. What is the purpose of this complete independence when the accession of the State with India has been finalised ? It was evident that Sheikh Abdullah was preparing people of the Muslim majority Kashmir for launching a "liberation struggle". During his detention in Delhi in 1965 Sheikh Abdullah had said : "The Muslim who becomes a member of the Congress will dig his grave. He will dig the grave not only for himself but for his family and his nation". Since the Congress is an Indian political party, therefore he used to talk about the digging of the grave in order to convey that Muslims are non-Indians and they should remain so. The attempt to exploit Muslims during the time of Sheikh Abdullah, his son. Farooq, and his son-in-law, Gulshah, was part of the same conspiracy.

The Education Minister, Sohrawardhy, in the Council of Ministers headed by Dr. Farooq Abdullah, had said, during the Republic Day function at Doda, "peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir rest on the tips of shoes of Muslims and here Delhi's dictation and orders cannot run". The same Sohrawardhy had told the Legislative Council that "My party accepted Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India to carry out Islamisation of entire India with Kashmir as the base". The Muslim United Front leader of Anantnag, Qazi Nissar, who was dubbed as Bhindranwale of Kashmir, and his colleagues had openly said they wanted freedom (Islamistan) and Nizame Mustafa (Islamic rule). When the then Prime Minister of India had dubbed the Front activists as pro-Pakistani, Qazi Nissar got-further encouragement to say "Let the Prime Minister listen that it is

not only the Front but 41 lakh people of Kashmir who receive guidance from Pakistan". In 1986 one teacher of Biology, Mushtaq Ahmed, in a Government Girls Higher Secondary School, Kishtwar, indulged in activities which confirmed reports of misuse of schools for giving a practical shape to the on going programme of Islamisation. During the prayer time he would force Hindu girls to cover their head with scarf as per the Islamic practice, as it is not India here.

The 20-month rule of Gulshah, son-in-law of Sheikh Abdullah, was fruitful period for pro-Pak elements. By constructing a mosque in the Civil Secretariat in Srinagar he gave a display of his bigotry. During his rule 46 temples were destroyed and a fundamentalist organisation like Jamait-e-Islami was given full administrative facilities. After the dismissal of his Government, Gulshah revived the old National Conference and called upon people in Kashmir to launch a struggle for the establishment of Islamic state.

As a result of guidance and support from the pro-Pak and fanatic fundamentalists, Jamait-e-Islami succeeded in running 11,000 Urdu and Arabic schools in Kashmir where over 30,000 Molvis and over one lakh students were being given anti-India indoctrination in the name of Islamic education. There were 2500 mosques in Kashmir in 1947 and their number rose to 15,000 in 1992. There is domination of Aligarh University trained teachers in Government schools and colleges in Kashmir. It was done under a plan and the result of such evil schemes is the Kashmir of today. About 100 militant outfits are engaged in the struggle these days. There can be differences among them on the question of accession to Pakistan or to remain independent but all of them are united against India. They do not want to live in India and their names and style of functioning are of Irani, Afghani and Arabic traditions.

Goal of Nizame Mustaffa and conspiracy of Jamait-e-Islami

Whatever is happening in Kashmir these days, it is being done in the name and aim of Islam and Nizame Mustaffa. Its

principle is based on the assumption that that system is supreme which is decided by Hazrat Mohammad in which Quran and Muslims are above all. Since Kashmir is a Muslim majority area, therefore, there should be establishment of Nizame Mustaffa which means that in any Muslim dominated area the political power should be based on the Islamic principles.

In order to achieve the above mentioned political aim, Ghulam Ahmed Ahar, established Jamait-e-Islami at Shopian, South Kashmir, in 1942. The ideas of this party, which has made secularism, socialism, Brahmin imperialism as the base for its opposition, are in line with the ideas and the policies of Jamait-e-Islami in Pakistan. This organisation has organised a cadre of disciplined youths in order to mould the life-style of Kashmiri Muslims according to the Shariat. Jamait-e-Islami which is in favour of Kashmir's accession with Pakistan, has achieved unique success in islamisation of politics in Kashmir. Its leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, has said that the "politics of secularism and socialism is quite irrelevant. No Muslim should consider socialism and secularism as his ideal".

A book "Muqdama-e-Ilaq" (Urdu), published by Jamait-e-Islami gives an account of Jamaat's political aims. It says "you, people of Kashmiri Muslim republic, how long will you count yourself in the easily prepared list of slaves ? These cinema halls, casinos, liquor shops in every lane, these schools and colleges, these centres in free society where men and women live together unahsmedly, all these indicate that your cultural tradition is being snatched from you. Who has thrown into dust the Taj Mahal of your civilisation ? Who has eclipsed your conscience ? Who has harmed your faith and religion ? How long will you sleep ? How long will you be a victim of selfish politics of others ? How long will you be a victim of the philosophy of atheism and agnosticism ? Are you waiting for the day when your mosques will be converted into places of atheism and the pages of Quran will be used for cleaning the dirt, as it happened in Afghanistan ? Your enemy is determined to finish your faith and identity. He is using his Army and arms for it.

You are faced with a heartless power whose Brahmin bent of mind creates new problems for you".

Jamait-e-Islami converted mosques into powerful centres for its activities. The mosques are being used for making a congregation a victim of bigotry. The entire literarture is being made available to the subversives in these mosques. The religious festivals in these religious places are being used for preparing Muslims for Jehad. In reality, the politics in Kashmir has never remained free from the influence of the mosques. According to Jamait-e-Islami official organ, "During the Dogra rule, whatever voice was raised received support from the Muslim Conference, even though the majority of demands pertained to the people of the state. Therefore, during any political ups and downs the movement remained confined to Jamia Masjid, Khankai Moulla and Hazratbal".

Jamait-e-Islami has, on a war footing, launched moves for making Kashmiri youths pro-Pakistan and anti-India. On the political level it has launched a movement for Kashmir's accession to Pakistan. In the social field it opposes every programme connected with family planning. They treat every programme on family welfare as part of the conspiracy of the Indians for reducing the Muslim population and, therefore, accceptance of this programme is against the tenets of Islam. Students in Jamait-e-Islami run schools are taught : "We are Kashmiris and our country is Kashmir. It is surrounded by India, China and Iran". In the book prescribed for the primary class there is no mention about Pakistan. It means that Pakistan is not a foreign country. India, China and Iran are foreign countries. It also means that Kashmir will either remain independent or accede to Pakistan but there will be no relation with India. There has been domination of Jamait-e-Islami on even the Muslim political forces belonging to the National Conference.

Religion and mosque made base for politics

In reality, in the context of the current Kashmir problem it becomes clear that both the National Conference and Jamit-

e-Islami are bound by the same goal. Now even the people belonging to the National Conference have adopted pro-Pak and anti-India attitude. Leaders of the National Cainference and Jamit-e-Islami have now started a compaign saying that after Kashmir's accession with Pakistan job opportunities for Muslims would increase. The same Geelani Sahib is suggesting and blessing the struggle launched by Kashmiri youths and tells them that Kashmiri boys are achieving martyrdom. And the Indian Army cannot enslave Kashmir for a longer time now. In fact right from the beginning politics in Kashmir has remained under the eclipse and influence of religious fanaticism. The type of politics based on religion, which Sheikh Abdullah, Sadiq, Farooq and Gulshah promoted and developed in Kashmir, is being followed and copied by the youths these days.

From the loudspeakers, fitted in hundreds of mosques, the same thing is being repeated which had been said by Sheikh Abdullah and National Conference leaders.

When during the 1987 elections the Chief of Jamate Islami, Dr. Qazi Nissar, received opposition to his bid to take advantage of his religious position he had told Hindustan Times, in an interview : "Who taught us all this ? What else Sheikh Abdullah was doing in his life ? Did he not deliver important political speeches from the Hazratbal shrine ? Have the National Conference workers forgotten the way they had sought votes while carrying the holy Quran in their hands during the 1977 and 1983 elections ?

The Islamic religious leaders had given full freedom for making religion and mosque as the base for politics. These religious places did not remain confined to only religious and political activities. These were converted to the centres for violent anti-India and subversive activities.

The misuse of religious places Act is not in force in Kashmir. To prevent misuse of religious places the Indian Parliament adopted a law in 1988 which was enforced in the entire country except Jammu and Kashmir which has a special status and where the law was fully violated. The approval of the State Assembly was necessary for extending this Act to Jammu

and Kashmir under Article 370. This approval was not made available and this law could not cross the Lakhanpur barrier.

In fact the need of this law was in Jammu and Kashmir. The way mosques are being misused for political activities is not being done elsewhere. It is in the same mosques in Kashmir that people are incited by dubbing Indian democracy, secularism and socialism as anti-Islam. After every Friday prayers, Mullas and Molvis indulge in open campaign for religious bigotry and Mullaism. If one listens to these speeches, one does not believe whether one is in India or in Pakistan. Nobody has stopped them from resorting to such an anti-India campaign. Can it be construed that non-enforcement of the misuse of religious places Act was done to facilitate the misuse of religious places in Kashmir ? Does it not support the growing religious fanaticism in Jammu and Kashmir ? On one hand the Government of India is propagating its secularism by adopting a law for delinking temples and Gurdwaras from politics, and on the other hand it keeps mosques in Jammu and Kashmir away from this Law in order to allow them to be misused for anti-national activities.

How far will it be proper to call the Government nationalist which provides constitutional assistance to terrorists and foreign elements for carrying out anti-national activities. Nobody can stop the destruction of the country when the rulers themselves get engaged in the politics of appeasement and vote catching devices by sidelining the country's constitution, country's integrity, unity of the society and religious tolerance like national values. Kashmir has presented a picture of this destruction.

Shahi Imam in Anantnag

Those fundamentalist leaders, who, under the Misuse of Religious Places Act, shirk in saying anything, should come to the Kashmir Valley, which is enjoying a special status, to give vent to their feelings. On April 8, 1988 Shahi Imam of Jamia Masjid, Delhi, delivered a speech after a Friday prayer congregation in a mosque in Anantnag. He blew up all the laws and

practices of the Constitution of India by his bigotry. The congregated Kashmiri Muslims were advised to take up arms in the name of Jehad. He even blessed the birth right of Kashmiris to have an Islamic state while creating a pro-Pakistan atmosphere'. While supporting the Muslim youhts, 'fight for their rights, Imam Sahib equated them with true Muslims meaning thereby that a true Muslim is he who is anti-India, who treats Islam higher than the nation and who snap their ties with the country's culture, history and traditions.

Separatist actvities extended to Leh-Ladakh

The current problem in Kashmir is a reflection of the same religious fanaticism. The same fanaticism is being propagated in Ladakh region. The conspiracy for converting Hindu Buddhists to Islam is being hatched with the support of the state administration. People in Jammu and Ladakh are facing great difficulties because of the Muslim domination in the State machinery. Under a plan both these regions have been kept economically backward. A well planned strategy is being carried out to increase the population of Muslims in these two regions. To convert these two region into the Kashmir valley a Pak-sponsored conspiracy is being run with the assistance of Mullahs, Molvis and majority political leaders.

The Jammu and Kashmir Government has given a free hand to the Muslims to finish the local civilisation of Ladakh. There will be no law to ban their speeches and activities. On the other hand the Government does not spend even a penny on the protection of ancient art and paintings and religious places in Leh and Ladakh. Even the Buddhist language has been made a victim of the fanatic rulers. There is arrangement for teaching of Buddhist language in only 32 out of 252 educational institutions in the province. There is not a single Degree college in the region. The result is that people of Ladakh are deprived of higher education and consequently they do not get Government jobs. Even the agriculture is being deliberately destroyed. The conspiracy for converting the poor Buddhist to Islam is being carried out after keeping the people economically backward.

In order to raise a voice against the discrimination of Ladakh, people have formed an organisation called Ladakh Buddhist Council. The Council has presented its ideas and aims before the entire country in the form of demands. According to the Council, if Ladakh was discriminated against during the 45 years of independence, but after Sheikh Abdullah resumed power in 1975, Ladakh was deliberately neglected. Under a political intrigue Leh and Kargil were reorganised into two districts. By separating Kargil from Leh, Sheikh Abdullah wanted to remind the people of Kargil, who are mostly Shia Muslims, that in the Islamic setup, which he was trying to enforce in the state, historical and cultural ties had no significance. With Dr. Farooq Abdullah coming to power, the Ladakh Affairs Department became almost defunct.

The Central Government paid no attention towards these difficulties of the Buddhist society. Had such problems confronted the Muslim society, the Congress leaders would have rushed to Ladakh many times, because it would have meant a major issue pertaining to the Muslim vote bank. Since the Buddhist vote bank has no importance in the country, Ladakh Buddhists continue to suffer. Their voice too is feeble in the Lok Sabha because there is only one parliamentary seat in Ladakh. In reality Muslims as a united vote bank has taken full advantage of the policy of appeasement of the Congress. This is the sole reason for domination of Jammu and Ladakh by the Kashmiri Muslim society. It is because of this political weakness that Ladakhis' economic condition is pitiable. As a result of it, Mullas, Molvis of Kashmir and the political leaders who have come under their influence have taken full advantage of the poverty of the Ladakhis. Rich Kashmiri Muslims have established their business in Ladakh due to several concessions from the state Government. Poverty may become a curse in Ladakh. This curse will facilitate religious conversion which had delinked Kashmir from the main national path and placed it in the hands of Pakistan. It may be mentioned here that Pakistan itself is the creation of a prolonged spell of religious conversion in India.

The Ladakh Council leaders have, in their memorandum, talked about the need for saving the Buddhists from the dangers of subversive politics based on religious conversion. After having felt secured by Article 370, Kashmiris have fixed their guns on the Buddhists with the ultimate aim of converting them to Islam. The Kashmiri Muslim dominated State Government is encouraging conversion of Buddhists to Islam. Its aim is to reduce the Buddhist population in comparison to Muslims. In the recent years the rate of conversion has increased. Fundamentalists receive support from the State Government for carrying out this merciless conversion. With the help of money and powerful propaganda several hundred Buddhist girls have been converted to Islam. Behind this campaign for religious conversion is the idea of Islamisation of Ladakh and uniting the Valley on the basis of the politics of separatism and subversion.

The then Governor of the state, Jagmohan, had given a serious thought to the problems of Ladakh and had formulated and started many schemes but the Congress rulers in Delhi think that their playing vote chess on the basis of their policy of appeasement is the biggest contribution of their life. Congressmen, who had left the party, were unable to give up their tradition. Therefore, Jagmohan too was made a victim of the chess moves of appeasement and vote. After relinquishing his post, Ladakh again witnessed the same politics of subversion. The practice of converting the innocent Buddhists to Islam has been initiated again. Kashmiri Muslims purchase land and other property in Ladakh and in the same way the conspiracy of increasing the Muslim population in Jammu is underway. It means Muslims of Kashmir can settle in Jammu and Ladakh but Hindus from Jammu and Ladakh cannot think of doing the same in Kashmir. The condition of Jammu and Kashmir state and the Hindu society is the result of the policy of appeasement of Muslims of the Congress politics.

Understanding of fundamentalism in the world context

The growth of fundamentalism in Kashmir cannot be understood only by standing on the political plank of Kashmir. In order to understand it, it is necessary to understand the one type of Muslim bent of mind in the world. Kashmir's religious fanaticism is a part of that international religious fanaticism the political goal of which is to convert the entire world into "Darul Islam" for the purpose of establishing Islamic rule (Nizame Mustaffa). This very goal does not allow Muslims to get linked with the soil of any country. The terrorists and separatist Peoples' League supremo, Shabir Shah has explained the aim of terrorism in Kashmir through a poster.

According to him, "the enemies of Islam are uniting to defeat it on every front. The occupation of Kashmir is one such example. But now the Kashmir nation has awakened through encouragement and guidance from Islam. The sun of the Islamic revolution is rising. The faithfuls of Mohammad and the Quran should now come forward and make efforts for achieving freedom from India. The will of God is our guide, Quran is our constitution, Jehad is our policy and martyrdom is our wish".

The basic society and the rulers of those countries, where Muslims are settled, are highly worried over unity and geographical integrity of their countries. It is so because Shabir Shah's sun of revolution will rise everywhere. Wherever this sun rises, there the "nation" will get awakened and ultimately delinked from that country. Therefore, every country in the world has been forced to think of ways of protection against the heat of this "sun". The problem of Muslim separatism is not confined only to Kashmir but is becoming a world problem. The big countries like England, Russia and China too have started devising ways for protecting themselves against dangers of the Muslim invasion on their national existence. The bigotry based on the foundation stone of separatism is so strong that even the powerful imperialists have not been able to break it. The very England which administered the poison of separatism in India

for balkanising it has been scared now by the same Muslim separatism. The sins committed by England in India have disturbed the sleep of the rulers of England.

Now laws are being framed in England under which Muslims there cannot get separated from the traditions, culture and historical base of England. It will be proper to examine the words of one Britisher in the British embassy in Delhi in the context of the current problem in Kashmir. He said "It seems that the Muslim separatism is creating a danger for the integrity of Great Britain. Britain's Commission on Racial Equality has expressed concern over the call of pro-Iranian Muslim leaders for establishment of a separate Muslim Parliament and non-regional Islamic state in Britain. The Director of the Muslim Institute, Dr. Siddiqi, has, in his Muslim Declaration paper, given an outline of his plan in which he has said that the 'British style of living is not only unislamic but also against Islam'. Therefore, convert the Britishers to Islam. The British law is anti-God. It is the duty of 20 lakh Muslims here to establish a separate Muslim parliament and non-regional Islamic state. 'If this separatist movement and attitude are not crushed', establishment of an Islamic state on the soil of Britain cannot be stopped".

The Muslim bent of mind which England has now understood, India has been fighting against this attitude for the last 1300 years. Every country in the world has decided to fight this mental attitude. China too has given its thought to it. In the Kiang area of China Muslim separatism is taking shape under the leadership of one Muslim leader, Abul Qasim. Money, Molvis and Mullahs are coming from outside for assisting the Muslim leaders in this region. They have opened schools upto the village level where the poison of separatism is being inculcated among the children. But the Government there has come to know of it. A law has been enforced there under which "no new mosque can be built and no outsider will be permitted or given freedom to propagate Islam". The Chinese clever leadership has decided to weed out the roots of this conspiracy of establishing an Islamic state.

The Kashmir problem too is a part of the above mentioned Muslim conspiracy. But it is a matter of regret that when in many countries in the world an attitude for fighting it jointly is developing, in India the Congressmen and those who have left the Congress have not been able to understand it. It will be proper to say that the politics of vote based on the Muslim appeasement does not allow them to understand it. It is not yet known how many partitions will be carried out by the Congress which is responsible for the partition in 1947. Taking advantage of the weak mind and opportunism of the ruling Congressmen, Sheikh Abdullah succeeded in lighting the spark of separatism which now has turned into flames in the Kashmir valley. And now a days many Muslim groups are achieving success, with the help of Pakistan, in finishing "India" from Kashmir.

Fanaticism from Mohd. Bin Qasim to Farooq

The separatist organisation and their Pakistani patrons know it well that their aim cannot be fulfilled without finishing the symbol of Indianness in Kashmir, temples, monasteries, Hindu literature and the Hindus. Their activities are confined to the Islamisation of India and establishment of Islamic state. This is part of the same fanaticism the seeds of which had been sown by Mohd. Bin Qasim, Mohd. Gaznavi, Mohd. Gouri, Babar, Tamur, Aurangzeb and Ahmed Shah Abdali. This Kashmiri fanaticism is the same which partitioned India in 1947. It means the areas which witnessed Muslim majority will get delinked from India. The trend from Darul Harb to Darul Islam is giving birth to such a great conspiracy which will gradually grip the remaining part of India. But our political leaders, especially the central Government, are conscience sellers sitting cross legged and tolerating all this so that they do not lose the Muslim vote bank. What more mean instance of lack of initative can be there ?

Those foolish people who try to find political and economic reasons behind the Kashmir problem should be asked as to what came out of their 41-year long political process leaving

aside the three-year Governor's rule. If the economic backwardness could not be removed even with the central assistance of Rs. 80,000 crores, given in the name of development, then in whose pockets the money has gone ? The entire drama of destruction took place in front of our eyes which has brought the country on the brink of disaster but we have not been able to pull our mental attitude out of the policy of appeasement. In this context one question can be asked to the militants. If they find that the Muslims, who are in majority in Kashmir, have the right to organise religious upheaval, what will happen if people, who are in majority in rest of the country, start exercising the same right ?

It is highly unfortunate that our rulers have made Muslims simply a thing of vote. Having got blind in the personal interest of the vote bank these leaders have not made any attempt at bringing Muslims to the national mainstream. Nobody made them understand that the ancestors of Muslims and Hindus in India were the same and Muslims had the same right on the country's civilisation, culture, history the Hindus have. They were not made to understand that changing the mode of worship or religion does not change the ancestry. The blood of Muslims is the blood of India. They are also an inseparable part of the soil of this country.

Therefore, the search for the settlement of the Kashmir problem can be initiated while standing on the plank of nationalism and patriotism. Any other effort for finding a solution will prove futile.

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Article 370

Article 370 of the Constitution is making a mockery of secularism, nationalism and the structure of unity. This temporary constitutional provision has, in fact, been providing encouragement for the establishment of Muslim nation.

Article 370 of the Constitution, which has grouped Jammu and Kashmir as a special and different state, ridicules this declaration that Kashmir is an inseparable part of India. This special status delinks the state from rest of the country. It won't be an exaggeration if it is called constitutionally recognised separatism. On the basis of this "special status" people of Kashmir, Pakistani rulers and diplomats and intellectuals in the world raise of volley of questions in front of the Government of India. Is accession of Jammu and Kashmir complete like other states ? If the accession is complete, why then the special appeasement ? Is it so because there is Muslim majority ? Had there been Hindu majority in the Kashmir valley, would there have been this clause of the Constitution ? Does not this clause give an opportunity to the world to doubt our honesty ?

Everybody knows that Maharaja Hari Singh signed the accession papers on October 26, 1947 under which the state acceded to India. The accession of Jammu and Kashmir with India was carried out on the same pattern other states acceded to it. But as a result of the misfortune of the country, Nehru pressurised the Maharaja for handing over power to Sheikh Abdullah. The Maharaja gulped the bitter draught and exhib-

ited his patriotism. The misfortune does not end here. On the request of Sheikh Abdullah it was decided that the State Assembly will take the final decision on the accession and it was done to appease the Muslim society in Kashmir. From here the State was given the special status. The question arose as to what should be done till the Assembly took the final decision ? For this period Article 370 was incorporated in the Constitution as a temporary measure. But even when the State Assembly ratified the state's accession to India, the Article was not scrapped. There can be no other bigger instance of treachery than the interest of the vote bank and the politics of appeasement.

With the blindfold of political interest we lent permanancy to the temporary character of the Article making our position not only ridiculous before the world but also provided a golden opportunity and solid base for separatist-oriented terrorism to grow in Kashmir. The most shameful part is that we are not ready even now to throw off the soiled blindfold. Instead we are keen to keep this blindfold as a permanent feature.

Our Government has deliberately concealed the dangers of Article 370 because it will expose the hollowness of its secularism. The exposure of its dangerous consequences will cut asunder the web of pro-Muslim policies.

It is because of this Article that the Government of India cannot enforce any law connected with Jammu and Kashmir without the approval or concurrence of the State Government. Only defence, external affairs and communications fall in the central list. Against this the Parliament has the powers to frame laws for rest of the states in the country. But Article 370 of the Constitution restricts the hands of the Union Government and the Parliament in doing this in case of Jammu and Kashmir. Its dangerous consequences have been witnessed in recent years when the law prohibiting misuse of religious places could not be extended to Jammu and Kashmir with the result the state does not come within the ambit of secularism. And even after the independence the ignoble thing happened in Kashmir where hundreds of temples were destroyed and where people belonging to a particular community were

victimised and subjected to cruelties. On the question of Ayodhya and the consequent Babri Masjid episode the Union Home Ministry had been issuing threats to the Uttar Pradesh Government and ultimately the Government was dismissed under Article 356 of the constitution but this article cannot be implemented directly in Jammu and Kashmir.

The President of India cannot dare to issue any order under Article 356 to Jammu and Kashmir. The President has no right to suspend his Constitution in the State. The National emergency under Article 352 of the Constitution can be extended to Jammu and Kashmir to a limited extent and the financial emergency under Article 360 cannot be enforced in Jammu and Kashmir.

Under part four of the Constituion of India there is procedure for one constitutional practice, one administrative structure and one economic pattern. But under Article 370 Jammu and Kashmir has its right under its own constition to do whatever it likes. It is because of the separate flag and separate symbol that two flags flutter on the Government buildings in the state. For hoisting freely the National flag, permission has to be sought from the State flag because it is necessary to hoist the national flag with the state flag.

There is only one system of citizenship for the people of the country but in case of Jammu and Kashmir, it is dual citizenship, one of the state and the other of India. The citizens of Jammu and Kashmir are citizens of India but the citizens of the rest of India cannot be citizens of Jammu and Kashmir. He does not have the right to have property and the right to vote in Jammu and Kashmir. If a girl belonging to Jammu and Kashmir marries a boy from outside the state, who is not a state subject, she loses all her rights in the state. Even the wealth tax cannot be imposed in the state. The Urban Land Act, 1976, which is in force in the entire country is not applicable to Jammu and Kashmir. The result of it is that rich landlords, belonging to the majority community in the Valley, indulge in economic exploitation of the poor and the Indian citizens, who are non-state subjects and living in the valley, cannot even secure loans from the financial institutions.

It is because of Article 370 that political groupism receives encouragement and no local nationalist Government can remain durable if it is not the product of anti-national elements. The state Government did not accept the Anti-defection law adopted in the country and instead made several amendments. Here the decision on defection is not taken by the speaker of the Assembly but by the leader of the connected political party. This gives constitutional legitimacy to the unbridled authority of the leader of the party. Since the Governor usually is not a citizen of the state, he has no right to vote, the separatist elements treat him an outsider and equate themselves with slaves. During the 80's the Wazir Commission had recommended measures for political reforms in Kashmir but due to Article 370 these recommendations have not been implemented.

Burning of the national flag is not a cognizable offence in Kashmir because there cannot be proper arrangement for the basic duties enshrined in the Constitution under which the tricolour, the national anthem and the national symbol have to be shown due respect. Under Article 370 the Indian Parliament cannot increase or reduce the borders of the state. The Union Government implements international agreements and accords under Article 253 of the Constitution but Jammu and Kashmir is beyond its jurisdiction. Muslims from other parts of the country become successful in getting the citizenship of the Jammu and Kashmir but about one lakh Hindus, who had been uprooted in the neighbourhood at the time of the partition, have not been given citizenship so far. Under the umbrella of Article 370 the fundamentalists have received strength in their campaign for Islamisation.

Article 370 revives the two-nation theory and secures security for it in the future. On one side we proclaim in the world that in India their is no discrimination on the basis of religion, community or sect, on the other hand special facilities are being given to Kashmir because there the Muslims are in majority. If these special privileges are being given on the plea that Kashmir is a backward area, is there no other place in india where backwardness and poverty are less important ? In fact several thousand crores of rupees have been spent in Kashmir

and the result is apparent. Anti-national elements are active. Instead of bringing the people to the national mainstream, we have, in comparison to other states, given unlimited rights to the people which have made them a pampered lot. People of Kashmir became suspicious about the accession and the anti-national elements got an opportunity for launching an open disinformation campaign against India. Pakistan supported these separatist organisations. The result was that Kashmiri youths picked up arms against India and forced over three lakh Hindu patriots to leave their houses and property in Kashmir and live in the plains a life of penury and misery.

Our Constitution gives equal rights to all citizens but this right is not available in Jammu and Kashmir. It is the tale of local versus non-local who are not state subjects. They do not enjoy any political and economic rights. Their wards cannot get admission in the colleges in Kashmir. Article 370 has violated the principle of Indian citizenship. The maker of the Constitution of India, Dr. Ambedkar, had cautioned Nehru on the plea that it can create difficulties in full integration of the state with India. This Article would sow the seeds of separatism in the Valley. Atleast Dr. Ambedkar's warning can be understood now but the politics of vote appeasement does not allow it.

It is quite evident that Article 370 has not integrated Jammu and Kashmir with India but it has delinked it. There in Kashmir is no place for secularism and nationalism in the mind of the youth. The feelings of regionalism, communalism and separatism have been developed in their mind. Instead of coming closer to the national mainstream, they have distanced themselves from it and have now started raking up the question of independence. On April 7, 1958 the Plebiscite Front, of Sheikh Abdullah adopted a resolution and the wording of the resolution clearly indicates how Kashmiri leaders have been working for making the Muslim society anti-India and pro-Pakistan and for this the leaders took the refuge under Article 370. The resolution had made a mention of this Article and said :

"Jammu and Kashmir state has not yet acceded to any of the two dominions, India and Pakistan. Therefore, it will not be

right to call Pakistani invasion on Jammu and Kashmir as an attack on India."

Under Article 370 Kashmiri Muslim leaders have been opposing any welfare schemes formulated by the Government of India. No scheme relating to family welfare, formulated by the Government of India, is in force in Kashmir. The programme was implemented in the Jammu region because of being a Hindu majority area. A former Chief Minister, G.M. Shah, had said that the aim of the Government family planning programme was to convert the Muslim majority into a minority. Such type of false propaganda has given birth to separatism which received shelter under Article 370.

According to a former Governor, Jagmohan, Article 370 should be scrapped because it has become an instrument of injustice and inequalities. It waters the roots of corrupt elements. It nourishes narrow-minded and reactionary forces. It fully accepts the principle of two-nation theory. It fills the mind of the youth with the garbage of false desires. It gives birth to narrow lines and narrow faith. This encourages and nourishes regional tensions.

Historical facts reveal that prior to this Article, both Hindus and Muslims were part of the national mainstream. There was no animosity or hatred. During the 1947 Pakistani aggression on Kashmir, Kashmiri Muslims not only welcomed the Indian Army but also assisted them in nabbing the infiltrators. Then why the same Muslim society is launching an attack on the Indian Army at present ? This is the result of the poison of Article 370. On seeing the Poisonous impact of this Article on the Kashmiri mind that a former External Affairs Minister, M.C. Chagla, had told the United Nations that the Article was a temporary measure. This Article should be abolished. The two former Chief Ministers of Jammu and Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and G.M.Sadiq, too wanted this Article to be repealed. The Government of India too had assured people that when the time comes, the Article would be scrapped. But our political interests and the mean and directionless politics of vote bank based on appeasement have not allowed this to materialise. By duping people in the name

of secularism, removal of poverty and promotion of equality our leaders have abolished the Privy purses but it is difficult for them to abolish Article 370 for the sake of the integrity of the country. Who will make these leaders understand that after having tasted the bitter fruit of Article 370 let them watch the other side of the coin by abrogating the Article. The armed struggle for liberation is not something separate from the demand for plebiscite and self-determination.

This Article, meant to be a temporary clause in the Constitution, has become a special barrier which is promoting and encouraging Muslim state in the Kashmir valley. This anti-national Article has strengthened its roots because of our weak policies, wavering decisions and growing Islamic fundamentalism and this Article cannot be abrogated so long Governments, favouring the policy of appeasement, remain in power in the centre. This Article opens the door for subversion in the country. The basic idea behind the Anandpur Sahib resolution of the Akalis is the same Article 370. This Article is not a constitutional necessity. The special status given to Jammu and Kashmir is an insult to the people of all other states in the country. There are innumerable facilities, under this special status, for the people who have begun their revolt against India and who are conspiring for Islamisation of entire India, against helplessness and suffocation for people who are nationalists and are one with the ups and downs of India. Article 370 is like a piece of bone stuck in the gullet : if it is swallowed, it may lead to death and if not, still death is there. But when the bone has become dangerous for the existence of the body, it is better to throw it out. There is now need for the abrogation of Article 370 in the interests of security and integrity of the country. It is the need of hour to fully integrate the state with India by abolishing the special status and by abrogating its own consitution.

A political section is of the opinion that this Article cannot be abrogated. But according to Dr. Babu Ram Chauhan, an expert on international law and the Constitution of India, this Article can be scrapped even without the concurrence and approval of the state Assembly. The President of India and the Indian Parliament can repeal it. It is clear from Articles 3 and

5 of the State Constitution that Jammu and Kashmir state will remain an "inseparable" part of India. The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir has been framed under the Constitution of India. Why cannot the Government abrogate the Article in the interest of the nation when the same Government has allowed the State to frame its constitution ?

The utility of Article 370 has been finished now. Its utility has ceased with the people in Kashmir having launched an open revolt and with their guerrilla war against the Indian Army. It is nothing but ridiculous to tell a man, who has come to kill you, to slap you and forge an agreement. What is the meaning of the bait of Artilce 370 for those who are fully equipped with arms to secure independence for Kashmir? Will a glutton feel satisfied with a crumb ? Now only one way is left : launch a full military campaign against the anti-national elements for finishing them and start, on a war footing, measures for bringing the remaining Kashmiri society to the national mainstream. For this there is need for a search of nationalist leadership among the Kashmiri youth, particularly the Muslim youths. This plan can fructify only after giving up the politics of narrow-mindedness. This is certain that it can pave the way for the national plan of abrogating Article 370.

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Champions of Unity and Integrity

When there is pain in any part of the body, it is natural for the entire body to suffer from the pain. The pain of the deep trouble in Kashmir is being felt by the entire country. The apparent outcome of the trouble is the exodus of three lakh Kashmiri Hindus from the Valley. It will be proper here to make a mention of the plight of these migrants and of the relief measures initiated for them. It will also be appropriate to discuss briefly to enlighten the people about the basic issues involved in the problem.

Jammu Kashmir Sahayata Samiti

Right from the beginning the RSS has remained worried over the growing separatism in Kashmir and it has been cautioning the Government of India about it from time to time. In 1989 the situation in Kashmir took a serious turn. The killing of Tikka Lal Tapiloo, vice president of BJP, Prem Nath Bhat, well known advocate and RSS worker, Neel Kanth Ganjoo, a judge, who awarded death sentence to the JKLF leader Maqbool Butt on charge of treason, Lassa Koul, Director, Srinagar Doordarshan Kendra, and others by the terrorists which resulted in the mass exodus of Kashmiri Hindus. At that time a joint organisation of religious and social leaders of Jammu and Kashmir was set up with the efforts of the RSS. Many delegations, organised by this Samiti, submitted several

memoranda to the State and the Central Governments. On the call of the Samiti a massive rally was organised in Jammu in February 1990 in which a resolution was adopted calling upon the Government to take the adequate measures for providing suitable facilities to the displaced families. This rally was held under the chairmanship of Ved Vishnu Dutt, RSS leader. Known Akali leader, Jiwan Singh Umranangal, and the BJP leader, Kedar Nath Sahni, also participated in the convention.

In order to give practical shape to the aims of the Samiti, Jammu Kashmir Sahayata Samiti was formed under the Presidentship of Ved Vishnu Dutt. The Samiti started registering the displaced families and carried out rehabilitation of them in several public places. The Samiti issued an appeal throughout the country requesting people to donate, money, clothes and medicines for the displaced families. The RSS workers moved from door to door in the entire country and collected money and clothes which were sent to the Samiti in Jammu. This assistance continues till now without any interruption. The Samiti, with this money, is providing food, financial help, education to the children of the displaced families and medicare to the ailing migrants. The migrant camps are situated at 20 places at Udhampur, Jammu, Chenani, Riasi and Kathua and most of the migrants live in tents.

Several organisations, under the banner of the Samiti, are working for different categories of displaced families including employees and students. As a result of the efforts of the Employee's Forum the displaced employees have been given instalments of the additional dearness allowance and the Student's Forum has succeeded in getting admission for the students in different universities and professional colleges in the country. The Samiti is also assisting,as per its means, the families in getting their daughters married.

Government Assistance

The Government of India is providing Rs. 300 per head and Rs. 1,000 per family as the relief which, in the present circumstances, is much too meagre.

There is need for better measures from the State and Central Governments for these displaced families. The displaced families deserve better amenities in the camps and there is need, on the part of the Government, for looking after the requirements of the students so that whenever they return to their houses in Kashmir they are full of love for India.

Student's Kashmir Chalo march

The Kashmir "Chalo" march of September 11, 1990, organised by the Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), assumes importance as it was meant to challenge the terrorists and boost the morale of the security forces in Kashmir. Youths from different parts of the country assembled in Jammu on September 11, 1990 and about 10,000 students pledged to undergo any sacrifice for Kashmir. These students had planned to march to Srinagar and hoist the national flag in Lal Chowk, but the Government did not permit it. Despite their failure to secure permission from the Government, thousands of courageous and nationalist workers carried out the march carrying the national flag. They were, however, arrested at Udhampur. After spending one night in the jail, these youths went back to Delhi where they organised a demonstration and dharna in front of the residence of the then Prime Minister, V.P.Singh, and challenged him to visit Srinagar with the National Flag. This march gave an idea of the power of youth to the central Government and the anti-national elements.

"Save Kashmir" campaign of women

The Rashtra Sevika Samiti too has played a significant role in making the countrymen realise the gravity of the situation in Kashmir and in cautioning the central Government about it. The Samiti is an All India organisation of women. This organisation organised "Save Kashmir Campaign" throughout the country between March 29 and 31, 1991. On March 31, 1991, 300 women from different parts of the country congregated in Jammu and a big group of women from Jammu joined them in taking out a procession and in organising a public rally.

The women also visited the camps of the migrants where they shared views with the displaced women folk. Number of representatives of this Organisation remained active in making the State and the Central Governments aware of the miseries and difficulties of the displaced families.

Even while calling themselves secular, socialists and progressive no political party, no political leader and the leaders of the ruling party tried to awaken nationalism among the countrymen against separatism and terrorism. In this context the efforts of ABVP and Rashtra Sevika Samiti are praiseworthy even if they have been limited.

Ekta Yatra by Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi

Politicians had no courage to tell in Kashmir that India, from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, is one and united. Number of Republic and Independence days passed by but the National flag could not be hoised in Lal Chowk, Srinagar. The effort of the ABVP to hoist the flag in Septemebr 1990 was sabotaged by the Government.

The BJP accepted the challenge and decided to hoist the National Flag in Lal Chowk on January 26, 1992. And the Ekta Yatra of Murli Manohar Joshi began from Kanyakumari to Kashmir on December 11, 1991. The aim of the Yatra was to make people aware of the problem and awaken the Government about the gravity of the situation in Kashmir. Wherever the Yatra reached people thought themselves linked with the trouble in Kashmir.

As the Yatra progressed, the parties politicking in the Muslim vote bank, which included the Congress, the Janata Dal, CPI(M), CPI, Muslim League and other communal organisations, started getting nervous and uncomfortable. These very parties had watered and fertilised the Kashmir problem. Ekta Yatra was exposing their real face in front of the people. Therefore, all these parties were compelled to oppose this Yatra.

The Yatra received full response from the people. Starting from the South, it passed through Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat,

Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh to reach Delhi. From Delhi it passed through Haryana, Punjab to reach Jammu. The Central Government was losing its ground and the appeals from the Prime Minister and the Union Home Minister for abandoning the Yatra proved futile. The Government tried to unnerve the Yatris by saying that it was not possible to provide security to all and the militants could do anything. But the result was different and each day the number of Yatris increased.

The most challenging task for it was to trek between Jammu and Srinagar. Atleast 50,000 volunteers reached Jammu with the aim of marching to Srinagar under the leadership of Murli Manohar Joshi.

It is interesting that officers in the State administration and Army officers were happy over this Yatra. They were ready to take up the responsibility of providing security to the Yatris but this course was not beneficial for the ruling party in the centre. The leaders of the ruling party were so weak that they were not prepared to face any challenge.

The sign of weakness was apparent on the face of the ruling party leaders but not on the faces of Dr. Joshi and other Yatris. It seemed the yatris were prepared for any sacrifice and when they had left their homes, they had it in their mind that anytime they could achieve martyrdom. There was a difference in such sacrifice. It was not a sacrifice of a sacrificial lamb but of a courageous lion. The Yatris were so much excited that they were ready to pounce upon the terrorists and snatch arms from them to finish them. On seeing the zeal of the Yatris the BJP had announced that "we" will protect our lives ourselves if the Government cannot make security arrangements.

On one hand the Yatris were on the march and on the other threats from militants, "we will not allow even a single Yatri to reach Srinagar", increased. They even threatened that they would send the dead bodies of Yatris as a gift to India.

All the efforts of the Government to stop the Yatra failed. The Government announced that the Jammu-Srinagar highway had been closed because of landslides and cautioned the Yatris against marching forward. The marchers took it as a trick of the Government. They were not ready to stop and the

Government was not prepared to allow them to proceed. Tension mounted. Those Yatris who were in cars moved ahead. It was decided in Jammu that some Yatris could accompany Government officials and ascertain whether the road was closed or not. On January 25 some of the Yatris left for Srinagar but the advance party of Yatris had come back after having ascertained that the road was blocked because of the landslides. Everybody returned to Jammu.

It would have taken atleast three to four days to remove the landslides and by that time January 26 would have gone. And immediately the plan was altered. Dr. Joshi too returned to Jammu and it was decided to fly to Srinagar in a helicopter. After crossing over many hurdles Dr. Joshi flew to Srinagar on the morning of January 26. About 40 people, which included some MPs and journalists, reached Srinagar.

As per the earlier announcement Dr. Joshi hoisted the tricolour in Lal Chowk in the morning of January 26. The MPs, journalists and Army officers, who were present there, shouted "Bharat Mata ki Jai" to convey to the world India's power and authority.

The hoisting of the tricolour in Lal Chowk was a slap on the face of Pakistan, attack on the plans of terrorists and an exposure to the indecisive Kashmir policy framed by the weakhearted Central Government. It was a symbol of strong determination of Ekta Yatris, successful scheme of the Kashmir administration and the strength and capacity of the Indian Army.

The event proved that whenever the Central Government adopted a clear and strong policy on Kashmir, the same day the Indian Army would free Kashmir of all the tensions. The current indecisive and weak policy has fettered the Indian Army.

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Doda in the Grip of Insurgency

After having ruined the heavenly land of Kashmir, Pakistan trained militants have marched successfully towards Doda district of Jammu region. As a result of population proportion and the directionless policy of Government of India, this region too has been engulfed by the fire of separatism. Killings of the Hindus, their migration, attack on police posts and direct encounters with the Army are taking firm roots in the area. Doda after Kashmir and then Jammu, it is part of a definite anti-national conspiracy hatched by Pakistan. All these anti-national activities, sabotage and subversion, take place in broad day light.

Hilly routes for infiltration

Doda district is a hilly area encircled by dense forests. Towards north of Doda is the district of Anantnag and towards the south and south-west the borders touch Udhampur and Kathua. This very fringe also touches the borders of Himachal Pradesh. The eastern and south-east areas of the district join the borders of Leh district of Ladakh. The population ratio between the Muslims and the Hindus in Doda district is 55:45. Out of the seven subdivisions, Banihal, Kishtwar and Balesa

are Muslim dominated areas. Bhaderwah, Thathri and Ramban have a Hindu majoirity. The Doda town has 90 per cent Muslim population. The advent of terrorism in Doda coincided with the rise of militancy in Anantnag district in 1989 where terrorists resorted to selective killing of the Hindus. As a result of the activities of the fundamentalists, Doda has witnessed communal tension. Militants have carved out training camps and hideouts in the rural areas of Doda from where insurgents operate and not to talk of common people, even the security officials do not dare to visit such areas alone.

The infiltration of terrorists into Doda area has been taking place from Anantnag district in south Kashmir and from Jammu-Banihal national highway. The terrorists had damaged the micro tower and the Forest Corporation Depot resulting in heavy loss of the Government property. On this very highway near Desa the terrorists succeeded in taking away latest weapons and ammunition from the police station without any resistance. According to a survey carried out by Mr. Maharaj Krishan Bharat, published in Panchjanya weekly, Pakistan trained militants and their supporters have become so active that people have lost faith in the local administration. Senior Government officers belonging to Muslim community and Congress and National Conference leaders do not hesitate in providing overt and covert assistance to the terrorists. There are about 4,000 trained terrorists which includes local Muslim youths in the 15-25 age group. Such Muslim youths are called local trained militants who receive training in houses and forests. Those terrorists who are given training in Kashmir are called Kashmiri trained terrorists. Pakistan trained militants are those who receive training in Pakistan or in Occupied Kashmir.

Plan of Greater Kashmir

The purpose of having started the Jehad for Nizam-e-Mustafa against India is to link Doda with Kashmir for the creation of Greater Kashmir. With the support of common

Muslims this campaign has been intensified because the basic aim is to delink Doda area from Jammu and incorporate it with Kashmir for the formation of Greater Kashmir. Under this scheme, a major and important area of Jammu region would get snapped from Jammu and get linked with Anantnag district of Kashmir and it would result in the occupation of several mountain passes, Jawahar Tunnel and the area from Banihal to Patnitop by the terrorists. Once the terrorists succeed having the upper hand in the hilly area of Doda they would also succeed in launching their attack in the Hindu majority areas of Jammu and Udhampur.

The open Jehad against Government of India started by the religious fundamentalists in Doda area is reflected through the slogans written on the walls in Doda : "Kashmir Hindu Sey Khali Hai — Ab Doda Ki Bari Hai — "Azadi" — Al-Jehad-JKLF Ka Kaya Paigam ? Jammu Kashmir Bane Ga Darul Islam". The terrorists prepare the Muslims for Jehad through these slogans. The Hindus are forced to migrate and instructions have been issued not to purchase their property. Those who will not obey these instructions are being threatened with death sentence. Mr. Bhandari who was killed by terrorists on May 10, 1993, was instrumental in uniting nationalists forces against anti-national elements. According to the President, Doda Rajput Sabha, Mr. Ashok Parihar, the Imam of Jama Masjid, Mr. Farooq Ahmed had embraced Mr. Bhandari on the evening of fateful day. After the Imam had left, two Muslim-youths fired three shots from the pistols and killed Mr. Bhandari. There the Hindus are resentful because at that time there was no doctor in the local hospital with the result Mr. Bhandari could not be saved. A similar incident has taken place in Doda town where terrorists had opened fire on the District President of BJP, Mr. Santosh Thakur. He too breathed his last in the absence of a doctor. Killing of Mr. Bhandari and Mr. Thakur is the part of the same plan which the terrorists have implemented successfully in Kashmir Valley.

Government's lenient attitude

Hundreds of Hindus had been forced to migrate from Doda district and an equal number of innocent citizens have lost their lives because of lenient attitude adopted by the State and Central Governments against the terrorists in Doda district. It is said that since 1989, two hundred people have been made the victim of selective killings. After Santosh Thakur, Kartar Singh was strangled and his body was hangled in a cow shed on January 8, 1993. Similarly terrorists abducted a social worker, Mohan Singh, from his Bajarani village and his tongue was chopped and eyes gouged out and after that he was hanged by a balance to death in a cooperative shop.

The terrorists have succeeded in carrying out raids on the godowns of Dul-Hasti power project, PWD, GREF and carried away remote controls and valuable explosive material. It is said that whatever arms and explosive material terrorists took away from these godowns was sufficient to produce 10,000 bombs. Last year terrorists attacked police stations and posts at Dachhan, Marwah, Wadwan, Chhatroo, Paddar and Thathri and took away 65 weapons including fifty 303 rifles, stenguns, six loading rifles, eight pistols and over one dozen wireless sets and police uniforms. In the absence of any effective action against terrorists people are unhappy with the BSF and repose faith in the Army if it is called out.

Government partisanship

About 500 Hindu employees went on strike for 25 days under the leadership of United Sangharsh Samiti in protest against rise of terrorism in Bhaderwah and to press upon the Government to hand over Doda district to the Army after declaring the area as disturbed. The strike was called off on the appeal of four BJP MPs who had visited Jammu. According to Brij Bhushan Rathore leader of minority employees union of Bhaderwah the Government wanted to secure in writing from the employees that they were not on strike for 25 days and those

who give this undertaking would be given wages. This is strange and smacks of partisanship. In 1991, 1.37 lakh Muslim employees went on 72-day strike to press for the release of those Government officials who were supporters of terrorism but the State Government took no action against the striking employees. But now the same Government is teasing and tormenting those Hindu employees who had launched a campaign against terrorism, separatism and anti-national activities of the militants.

A large number of people have alleged that the then Deputy Commissioner of Doda has remained a supporter of terrorists and had made the administration ineffective. This information was given by Vice-President of BJP Mr. Vishno Kant Shastri after he toured Doda area. While talking about the double standards of the State Government Mr. Shastri has said that no relief and ex-graita payment had been made to those Hindu families whose members had become victim of the bullets of terrorists. Even if some of them have got it, they have got it after a great labour but on the other hand terrorists killed in encounter with police are declared as innocent and their family members are given Rs. one lakh as ex-gratia relief immediately. Leaders of Congress, Janata Dal and Communist Party met the BJP delegation and they too urged the Government to take strict action against militants.

Terrorist elements in administration

To what extent separatists and terrorists have influenced the administration and to what degree nationalist citizens are subjected to atrocities are amplified by one incident. After the killing of a Hindu leader, Santosh Thakur, Kishtwar witnessed communal tension. The district administration handed over law and order to those Jawans of Kashmir Armed Police who had revolted against India in Kashmir. These very Jawans mercilessly beat many innocent people. About 20 Hindu youths were first beaten up, then arrested and were subjected to ordeals in the police station. In order to secure the release of

these youths about 500 Hindu women staged demonstration after defying curfew restrictions. These women demonstrators were lathicharged and water cannons were hurled on them. In the same way another anti-terrorist demonstration was fired on without any warning. About 2000 women and hundreds of men had participated in this procession. Mr. Jagdish Raj, Secretary District Unit of Janata Party, was an eye witness to the police firing on May 18.

There are a number of examples to prove administration partiality. It is said that those local Muslim employees who crossed over to Pakistan for arms training were paid full salary after they returned to Doda. One Peon of Government school at village Seri (Bhaderwah), Sheikh Abdul REhman had gone to Pakistan for arms training. Despite being involved in three killings one official of the Forest Department used to carry his salary to his house.

There are about 500 terrorists in Bhaderwah tehsil among them the majority are the Pakistan trained. Terrorists infiltrate into Bhaderwah from Doda town. There Hizbul Mujahideen and Al-Jehad militant outfits are active after Muslim Janbaaz force merged with Al-Jehad. During rains on the houses belonging to Muslims the Army has seen that the children of these families keen on writing on their note books pro-Pakistan slogans and the names of banned organisations. To understand the work style of the terrorists, here is one example. A priest of Radhay Shayam Mandir received a threatening letter, "Stop the loud speaker of the temple. There should be no sound of conch and the bell from the temple. We get disturbed by this. In case of any defiance to these orders, you will be killed". Only from Doda Tehsil 100 families have migrated. All the school buildings in the rural areas of this Tehsil have been torched by the terrorists. And those schools which have been spared so far neither the National Anthem is sung nor Hindi subject is being taught. The State Government has shifted the branches of J&K Bank from Kastigarh and Bhagwah areas out of fear from terrorists.

Sanyukt Sangharsh Samiti

In the light of growing terrorism in Doda district local people have set up a United Sangharsh Samiti. All political, social and religious organisations are members of this Samiti. This campaign has the support of local Congress, Janata Dal and BJP. People of Doda demand that the Government should make available weapons to them so that they can fight terrorists. These people do not want to leave their land of birth. The situation indicates that Doda is going the way the Kashmir has gone. Had the Government given weapons to the Hindus in Kashmir possibly, they would not have been forced to migrate from the Valley ? The Samiti urged the Government of India to declare Doda as disturbed area and hand over the district to the Army. In addition to this it has demanded that 10,000 ex-servicemen be given latest weapons and village defence committees be set up. Infiltration from five passes from Kashmir be completely plugged. Once the infiltration routes sealed, it will neither allow Pak-trained militants to enter Doda nor will youth of Doda succeed in going out of the district.

The directionless policy and silence of Government of India are proving detrimental to the interests of nationalist people of Doda district whose patriotic feelings are being crushed. The partial role of the local administration is proving highly painful for the youth fighting for nation's integrity. When these nationalists and unarmed youth see themselves how terrorists resort to mercilessly killings, rape and arson, they get shocked and terrified. They get seized of an urge to fight when they see how their culture is being destroyed in front of them. These youths are ready to sacrifice anything for the protection of their houses, land, property and religious places but there is no encouragement to them from the Government. These youths demand arms for self-defence but the so-called secular Government has failed to understand their feelings and emotions with the result they are forced to die unarmed. The Government should pay attention to it. These nationalist youths are getting angry and surcharged day-by-day which can

be judged from the forceful reaction from their side. After all, how long this nationalist society will tolerate insult ? What is its sin if the Hindu society in Doda has decided to stay back till the last drop of their blood ? The Hindus need full patting. But the policy of appeasement and the politics of vote bank on the part of the Government of India did not allow it to adopt proper, bold and just measures. But the time does not wait. If the Central Government does not take any step to crush terrorism and anti-nationalism, it would have to face the anger of the nationalist youths. This is the way of nationalism and patriotism.

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Pakistan's ISI and Kashmiri Terrorists

It has now become clear that Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) is actively supporting terrorism in Kashmir in order to further internationalise the issue and to carry out successfully the separatist campaign. The ISI has an important role to bring over 100 terrorist organisations under one umbrella, dye them in the hue of Islamic bigotry and in equipping them with latest weapons. The Government of India has understood, beyond any doubt, that this organisation has attired the established slogans of Kashmiriyat with the garments of Muslim fundamentalism in order to indoctrinate the rebel youths of Kashmir.

This very ISI has moulded Kashmiri youths in the name of "Islam is in danger" type emotional bigotry. And in order to give teeth to the so-called liberation struggle, the ISI has collected many foreign mercenaries from different Islamic countries in the world who are being infiltrated into Kashmir. Well versed and trained in subversive activities and guerrilla warfare these mercenaries have come from Afghanistan, Sudan, Behrin, Iran, Libya, Turkey and Saudi Arab.

Big organisation of third world

The report of the American Congress, a special report prepared by the Union Home Ministry, Government of India, and the documents recovered from the arrested Kashmiri and foreign terrorists have confirmed reports that the ISI was spending one-fifth portion of Pakistan's budget on creating disturbances in Kashmir. According to a former Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Jagmohan, in 1992 the ISI had three thousand million dollars which it had earned through drug narcotics trade. This amount is equal to five defence budgets of Pakistan. This boosted the morale of the ISI which succeeded in extending organised terrorism to Kashmir. In supporting and organising terrorism in Middle East, West Asia and Kashmir the ISI is the biggest organisation in the third world. About 20,000 people are getting monetary benefits from the ISI for intensifying terrorist activities and for supporting them. Some are on regular pay roll. The Task Force of the American Congress has, in its report, clarified that the ISI initially tried to kick up trouble in Kashmir with the help of Afghans present in Pakistan. Then it started supplying arms to Kashmir. In a clever way Pakistan secured services of Hizbe Islami Afghan leader, Gulbadin Hikmatyar. According to this report, abetting and promoting terrorism have become an essential part of Pakistan's political doctrine.

Spread of terrorism

A Kashmiri journalist, Mr. Gazanfar Butt has, in his recent report published through CNF feature agency, said that the agents of this intelligence agency of Pakistan are active in strengthening the struggle for liberation in Kashmir. The plan is to malign the name of the Indian security forces, especially the Army in Kashmir. In order to achieve this goal, the Pro-Pakistan Hizbul Mujahideen outfit has issued directions to people to register cases against the Army in local police stations wherever search operations are carried out and keep on tarnishing the image of the Army by accusing it of committing excesses and rape. Villagers have been warned against assisting the Army and defaulters have been threatened with death.

The ISI has issued secret instructions under which all Kashmiri militants, trained in Pakistan and Occupied Kashmir, be pushed into the Valley. More arms and ammunition be supplied to the rebels in Kashmir. Since infiltration and arms smuggling from the Line of Actual Control was not easy because of security measures adopted by the Indian troops, supply of weapons and sending of trained terrorists to Kashmir be done from Rajasthan and Gujarat, border where the routes were comparatively open.

Under the ISI instructions Assembly elections in Kashmir have to be prevented at any cost. In this context any Kashmiri leader trying to talk about elections and the restoration of political process would have to be killed. Besides this, terrorists have to extend their activities to Jammu and Ladakh regions and later on rebellions be started in Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, north-east region, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

Foreign mercenaries in Kashmir

The ISI and Jamait-e-Islami of Pakistan have started recruitment of Pakistani citizens so that they too could participate in "Islamic Jehad" in Kashmir. Youths are selected and then recruited in Pro-Pak Hizbul Mujahideen militant outfit and other similar organisations. After this, they are sent into Jammu and Kashmir for indulging in bomb explosions in Srinagar, Rajouri, Jammu and other areas. They have been given instructions to kick up terror by blowing up passenger buses, trains, roads and bridges. After the end of Afghan war, Afghan Mujahideens and other terrorists and fundamentalists from Algeria, Sudan, Egypt and Saudi Arab, living in Pakistan, are imparting arms training to Kashmiri terrorists. But the overall control, supervision, support and facilities to the terrorists are in the hands of the ISI. This intelligence agency sleuths summon Kashmiri terrorists to the Indo-Pak border for giving them new instructions and guidance.

The Indian security forces had recovered some documents from Kashmiri militants at the time of their arrest. These documents shed enough light on Pakistan's involvement in terrorism in Kashmir. On March 25, 1991, one Ashfaq Hussain Lone was arrested in New Delhi and a letter was recovered from him. The letter had been written by Mohd. Yusuf Shah alias

Salauddin of Hizbul Mujahideen to his college teacher Assan Dar. The letter contained information regarding arrangements made by Pakistan for training and for supply of sophisticated weapons and communication apparatus to Kashmiri terrorists. Salahuddin had instructed Assan Dar to recruit more youths and send them across Pakistan for training so that no area in Jammu and Kashmir was free from terrorism. Also, the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir should be in the grip of severe terrorism so that Lok Sabha elections could not be held in this northern State. The letter had informed Dar that Rs. 2.20 lakh had been made available through Ashfaq Hussain.

Home Ministry in receipt of Intelligence Agency report

The Union Home Ministry has already received reports on several black deeds, inhuman activities and human violations committed by terrorists in Kashmir in the name of Islamic Jehad. The Vice-President of BJP, Mr. Krishan Lal Sharma, President of J&K unit of BJP, Prof. Chaman Lal Gupta and Mr. Vijay Kumar Malhotra, former Chief Executive Councillor, have demanded that the Government should place on the table of Parliament the report, prepared recently by Union Home Ministry, on the victims of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir so that the world came to know about the inhuman and black deeds of Pakistan and her agencies in Kashmir. This report carries details, submitted by the intelligence agencies and the police which confirm reports of direct involvement of Pakistan in sending foreign mercenaries and terrorists to Kashmir not only for loot and guerrilla warfare but also for mercilessly defiling the prestige and honour of the nationalist families.

Mr. Dinesh Sharma, a journalist, has in his report, given a startling information. According to him activists of all small and big militant outfits, whose number is around 150, have raped girls and some of them have been tortured with weapons and with hot iron rods. This is a slap on the face of those human rightists who cry loud in the international political circles while accusing the security forces for human rights violations. It is worth maintaining here that while the Union Minister of State for Internal Security, Mr. Rajesh Pilot, who keeps on paying

frequent visits to the valley, claims improvement in the situation in Kashmir, on the other hand the reports being received by his Ministry reveal that Kashmir is gradually becoming a hell.

Muslim women too victim of repression

The report of the intelligence agencies has presented a detailed account of the killing and rape of Hindu and Muslim girls by the terrorists. The report carries details of the gang rape and killing of one Sajda Hussain Sajda whose body was recovered from river Jehlum in Baramula. On September 17, 1991. Sajda, a Muslim girl, had been abducted by terrorists and after gang raping her, they killed her and threw her body in the river. There is mention, in the report, about a 17-year girl, Shamma Mufti, who had been kidnapped from Doda district. She had been taken to Anantnag by the kidnappers and she was rescued later by the security forces on December 19, 1991. In a similar way terrorists abducted Mohd. Sultan's daughter, Zarifa, and her brother, Bashir Ahmed, because they had pressurised Zarifa's parents to agree to marry their daughter to one of the militants. When Mohd. Sultan refused to marry his daughter to a militant, she and her brother were kidnapped. Her brother, Bashir Ahmed, was killed and later Zarifa was forcibly married to one of the terrorists. Another Sakeena of the same area, was abducted. After raping her for several days the tyrants cut her private parts. Later Sakeena's body was recovered from Pattan in Baramulla. Hasina of Bandipore too suffered the same fate. Her body was recovered by police from Iqbal Park Srinagar, on October 23. One militant belonging to Al-Umar outfit abducted one Muslim woman and her daughter from their house at Saja Kadal in Srinagar. The mother and her daughter had been charged with acting as informers leading to the arrest of Al-Umar chief, Mushtaq Ahmed Zargar alias Latram. Their house was set on fire by the activists of this outfit on May 8, 1992. Similarly Dolly of Baramulla, Gudi of Miskeen Bagh (Srinagar), 18 year old Rafiqa, daughter of Asadullah of Kalashpora, Aisha Ameen, District Education Officer and 400 other women were abducted, many were raped and killed.

This treatment had been earlier meted out to Kashmiri Hindu girls. One Pandit girl, Sarla Bhat, who was kidnapped, is still untraced. She was a nurse in Soura Institute of Medical Sciences. It is said that she was killed and her body was thrown on Srinagar road. But some informed sources say that she is being used to carry out illegal activities. In the same way one 33-year old Prana Ganjoo and her husband, Prof. K.L. Ganjoo has been abducted from Sopore on April 19, 1990. Later, both of them were killed and their bodies were seen floating in the river. Not only this, one Babli Raina of Sopore was killed in front of her family members on May 7, 1990. Prior to her killing she was subjected to cruel rape as per the police records. On August 13, 1990, one Asha Koul of Anantnag was kidnapped and later her body was recovered from a deserted house in Srinagar. On March 30, 1992, militants entered into the house of one Mohan Lal in Srinagar where his wife and daughter were first raped and then all the three were shot dead. The abduction of Deepa, belonging to Batala in Punjab and later her sale to several insurgents and their supporters in Kashmir is no longer a secret. In a similar way abduction of a 12-year school girl, Shallu, and Girja of Dadipur in Kupwara is registered in the Home Ministry records. Girja was sawed to pieces.

Militants love for luxury

After the migration of Hindu families from Kashmir, militants started kidnapping girls belonging to Muslim families in order to satisfy their lust. It is learnt that thousands of Hindu-Muslim girls have migrated from Kashmir and have been staying with their relatives in Delhi, Jammu, Udhampur, Calcutta, Lucknow, Bombay, Bangalore. Some of them were pregnant. According to Government figures, while on one hand over one lakh Hindus migrated from Kashmir, on the other over 40,000 Muslim families too have been forced to leave the valley by those very Pakistani agencies and Kashmiri militants who were proclaiming to liberate Kashmiri Muslims and are engaged in disinformation campaign against India in international circles. The unfortunate part of the situation is that militants have been encouraged by the crocodile tears shed by several world human rights organisations over the action of the

security forces in Kashmir. Had these human rights organisations and Muslim fundamentalist leaders opposed activities of the militants, there would have been curbs on such ignominous acts ? The directionless policy of Government of India is also responsible for such despicable acts.

The above mentioned acts of these colourful Muslim terrorists, which are ostensibly against the tenets of Islam, are being Preparated in the name of Islam. These acts have demoralised those foreign guerrillas who had been sent to Kashmir by the ISI. The foreign guerrillas have, after enraged, starting killing such Kashmiri militants. This information has been given by a Jammu-based known journalist, Mr. Harbans Nagokay, of a prominent newspaper, Dainik Jagran, after completing his tour of Kashmir. According to him, when these foreign mercenaries saw the luxurious and vivacious life style of Kashmiri militans they became highly annoyed and enraged. They could not see Islam in danger anywhere. These foreign guerrillas conveyed their impression to the ISI. These foreign mercenaries have sought full command of the operations against the security forces.

These foreign mercenaries have come to know of the love for luxury and expected infirmity of Kashmiri terrorists. The foreign money, latest weapons and Islamic fanaticism have introduced gun culture among the Kashmiri youth, but they have not altered the inherent cowardice in them. That is why these foreign guerrillas are annoyed with Kashmiri militants. Recently these foreign guerrillas framed a plan with Kashmiri militants under which an attack had to be launched against the security forces. As per the plan a lone Kashmiri militant was assigned the task of hurling a grenade on an Army convoy. As the Army Jawans would come out from their trucks in search of the saboteurs, the six foreign mercenaries would open fire to register a big kill. It had been decided that the foreign guerrillas would kill all the Army Jawans. The Army convoy passed that side but the Kashmiri militant did not hurl the grenade. Enraged by this inaction, the Afghan guerrilla killed all the six Kashmiri militants. In a similar way, in village Kalaterbala in Baramulla when militants were challenged by security forces the former took to their heels after handing over their weapons

to the Nambardar. And they finally surrendered before the Army.

JK Armed Police

In the context of the above events one thing becomes clear that if the security forces were given orders to act, the conspiracy of the militants can be foiled. But because of lack of solid policy and will this has not been possible. The policy of appeasement and vote is a hurdle in this direction, Kashmir police and administrative officials who usually belong to one community have taken advantage of the weakness of Government of India and support the terrorists. It is because of these officials that the Pakistan intelligence agency remains aware of all the activities in Kashmir. Not only the information but Pakistani Agency also holds the strings of insurgency in the valley. Many employees and officers of JK Armed police are working under the guidance of the ISI.

According to a report published in the Sunday Mail, published from Delhi, about 500 jawans of the 11th battalion of J and K Armed police are working for the ISI which includes over two dozen officers. It is because of police officials, who are acting as ISI sources, Pakistan gets in advance information about all decisions and plans of the Indian administration. After the recent police strike the Union Home Ministry had told the State Government to screen all the men of the 11th battalion and dismiss and arrest pro-Pakistan elements in this battalion. It may be mentioned here that the police strike started on April 22, 1993, after one jawan of the 11th battalion, Riyaz Ahmed, got killed by the Army during cross firing. The Armed police jawans alleged that Riyaz Ahmed was killed by the Army in presence of SSP, Srinagar, Mr. K. Rajender, Under the pressure of the striking policemen Rajender has been transferred outside Kashmir.

According to intelligence sources, some retired police officer's hand in precipitating the strike was evident. Even one former Director General Police is believed to have supported the strike. The Intelligence Department has alerted the State Government over the reports of recruitment of several pro-Pakistan elements and militants belonging to Hizbul Mujahideen

outfit. Last year, during Id-ul-Zuha, about 500 police jawans had revolted in Kathua police training centre and later they had shouted pro-Pakistan and anti-India slogans. Recruitment of pro-Pakistan elements in the police had first started in 1971. Then one police officer had formed a police union and later engineered police strike for ensuring his promotion. One Police Inspector, Tabasum, and another Sub-Inspector, Drabu, were installed President and General Secretary respectively. This very officer, later, became the police chief and disbanded the same police union which he had formed. During his tenure as police chief many pro-Pakistan elements were recruited in J and K Armed police. The majority of these jawans belonged to Jamait-e-Islami party. The activists of Jamait-e-Islami are, these days, members of pro-Pakistan outfit, Hizbul Mujahidden. Some months ago one truck driver was arrested from the Srinagar police control room when it had been found that he was smuggling AK-47 rifles for militants from Kupwara sector. This driver confessed, during the interrogation that he was working for Pakistani Intelligence agency for which he was getting handsome amount.

Kashmir University, a militant hideout

Almost all the administrative departments, educational institutions, hospitals, religious places belonging to the majority community, have become and are becoming centres for militant activities in Kashmir these days. Kashmir University has become a centre of inspiration and a major hideout for militants. There is majority of separatist forces among teachers, students and employees in Kashmir University. Under a plan pro-Pakistan elements are being employed as teachers and employees. Several anti-India demonstrations and meetings receive full patronage and protection in the University. The Government of India has full information about it.

In May, 1993, a meeting was organised in Kashmir University, one bold woman journalist, Ms. Aasha Khosa, has captured, in the TRIBUNE, published from Chandigarh, the echo of the separatist slogans.

She writes :

"Srinagar, May 25—Kashmir University is the latest

entrant to the club of secessionist groups and organisations in the valley.

"We want freedom" was the theme slogan at the picturesque Hazratbal Campus, which was addressed by the Vice Chancellor, Prof. Hamidi Kashmiri.

The protest sit-in by around 1500 teachers and employees of Kashmir University against the "atrocities of Indian Security Forces" was preceded by a similar organisation to commemorate the conferring of the status of "prisoner of conscience" on the outlawed secessionist leader Shabir Shah by Amnesty International. The seminar was addressed by a number of heads of departments of the University. In their high-pitched anti-India speeches, the speakers accused India of embezzling IMF funds by diverting the same for suppressing Kashmiris. Prof. A.A. Wani, head of the law department, offered a piece of advice to India "India must not waste money to retain Kashmir by force. Instead it should give us our right of freedom and utilise the money for its people".

The campus has played host to scores of anti-India demonstrations by students earlier.

"It is an extremely serious matter and the Government must not view it with its characteristic indifference," said a senior secretary of the Government. Kashmir having set the dubious precedents of a 72-day strike by government employees in which top-ranking civil servants (like Chief Secretary Sheikh Ghulam Rasool) also participated and an appeal by bureaucrats (like present Advisor to the Governor Ashok Jaitely) against "atrocities" to the United Nations, action against teachers appears unlikely. Both acts went unchecked following the Centre's inteference.

The Government's policy of indifference towards such open anti-India activities by wings of government has encouraged such activities, sources said. At present a major section of Kashmir-based government employees are members of a union which along with all major banned secessionist groups is a constituent group of the all-party co-ordination committee, militants' platform.

The university atmosphere, insiders say, had become vitiated since the killing of Prof. Mushirul Haq, Vice-Chancel-

lor, by militants in 1990. The faculty members, some out of the commitment and others because of fear, have been dancing to the tune of militants," said a young university lecturer. Most of the university teachers, including the Vice-Chancellor, have not been paying their income tax for the past two years following the militants call for boycott of tax payments. However, sources said that senior government functionaries were much perturbed over the open pro-militant activity in Kashmir University and they are contemplating action".

Resignation of VC, Prof. Hamidi Kashmiri

The Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Hamidi Kashmiri, resigned under growing pressure from militants when he was helpless in fulfilling all their anti-national demands. His resignation has given rise to many doubts. One section of opinion is that as Vice-Chancellor Prof. Hamidi used to bless terrorists and now after relinquising his office has made up his mind to make available his services to the separatists. The other version is that Prof. Hamidi was unable to fulfil all genuine, unjust and unconstitutional demands of the militants. Militants were dismayed over such attitude of Prof. Hamidi. He, therefore, was scared of militants fearing that he too may meet the same fate as met by Prof. Mushir-ul-Haq, a former Vice-Chancellor, who was killed by the insurgents.

Ms. Aasha Khosa's report in The Tribune of September 18, 1993 confirms it. She has written.

"According to official and University sources, Prof. Hamidi has been under tremendous pressure from the growing lobby of the fundamentalist Jamat-e-Islami, which is aiming at the total control of the university. Kashmir University has been converted into a virtual stronghold of militants.

Certain gunmen, official sources said, were behind the holding of demonstrations, voicing demand for secessionism inside the campus. Even Prof. Hamidi, they say, was asked to participate along with other faculty members at the gun-point in the rallies.

Insiders say at least seven Kashmir University teachers had been abducted during the past two years by militants and

were forced to appoint militants in the University on an adhoc basic.

Active leaders of Jamat-e-Islami, a banned outfit, are not only teaching various subjects in the University but also conduct "indoctrination classes" to lure youth into militancy.

The Imam of the mosque inside the campus is allegedly a topranking leader of a pro-Pakistan militant outfit and he has been appointed lecturer in the Arabic Department. He is also a member of the "supreme council" of that organisation.

According to the reports, one teacher holds regular classes on "secession and freedom movement" on Sundays inside the campus.

The Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Hamidi, himself has been kidnapped by militants twice. Prof. Hamidi had been giving advertisements in the local newspapers appealing to people (militants) not to approach him for appointments as no vacancy existed.

The sources said that one Professor in the Commerce Department had attended Islamic conference abroad during the past two years in his capacity as member of the Jamat-e-Islami.

The militants had been given special quota of 10 seats for each postgraduate course in all the departments for their nominees during the past two sessions.

The University has witnessed pitched battles on a number of occasions among various groups for supremacy and share of power.

Some militant organisations like student wing of the JKLF has been persistently condemning interference by militants in the campus.

Meanwhile, official reports say that Dr. A.A. Illqaband, Principal, Srinagar Medical College, is also facing problems on account of increasing pressure from gunmen. Militants recently sent him a gun and two bullets, threatening to face the consequences if he chose to postpone the examination dates. Militants had also tried to kidnap him while he had gone to Kashmir University two weeks ago".

The so-called secular Government of India, even being abreast of the dangerous activities, plans, intrigues, religious

fanaticism and anti-national inclinations of the terrorists, continues to commit one blunder after the other which has further complicated the Kashmir problem. As a result of frequent changes in the Governors, issuance of contradictory statements, lenient attitude towards terrorists, demoralising security forces through constant accusations and failure on the part of the Government to adopt a definite and solid policy on Kashmir, are some of the dangerous mistakes which have been instrumental in converting our land of "Rishis" into a den of demons.

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Weak Mental Make up of Rulers

In the absence of any clear and solid policy regarding Kashmir, this problem which is connected with India's integrity is getting complicated instead of seeing some settlement. Congress leaders and senior Government functionaries, speaking on the Congress style, keep on claiming success in Kashmir. Changing tone and tenor of the statements of our rulers reflect their mental weakness. Contradictory statements being issued by the Union Minister for Home, Mr. S.B.Chavan, the Minister for Internal Security, Mr. Rajesh Pilot and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Dinesh Singh, do not only misguide the State administration but also demoralise the security forces.

Foreign Ministers' Irresponsible Opinion

In mid-September, 1993, the Indian Foreign Minister, Mr. Dinesh Singh, said in his interview to Dubai based newspaper "Khaleej Times" that there was need for holding parleys on Kashmir with Pakistan. There is no other way than this. Otherwise international community would force intervention any day. He also said that Oslo type agreement could prove beneficial. It is a known fact that negotiation between Israel and PLO had been completed in Oslo, capital of Norway. The

parleys had been kept secret. Our Foreign Minister has, while exhibiting his suavity, also stated that if Pakistan made known her real intentions, we also will think of some option.

The above statement of the Foreign Minister is irresponsible, ludicrous and dangerous by saying "we shall have to hold talks with Pakistan" the Foreign Minister throws to winds the Indian claim that Kashmir is an integral part of India and the Kashmir problem is our internal matter. It appears that Mr. Dinesh Singh has given to Pakistan right on Kashmir and is in a mood to forge an agreement after some give and take. The Foreign Minister has fears that in the absence of any option other countries in the world may thrust a solution or a way on us. By saying this Mr. Dinesh Singh has confirmed impotency of Government of India on the world stage. He has presented India such a weak country with uncertain future that anyone could capture it anytime.

Palestine type settlement of Kashmir problem ?

The Indian Foreign Minister, Mr. Dinesh Singh, who thinks of Oslo type agreement on Kashmir, has forgotten that Palestine is an independent country which is struggling for its independence. Its agreement with Israel can never be final. It should be considered as first step in the struggle and success of Palestinians. Palestine has been given the right to have its Government in the western bank towns of Zareko and Gaza strips. It may be mentioned here that the Palestinians will have to use their right of self-rule under Israel. As such Oslo type agreement on Kashmir is infirm. The Maharaja of Kashmir had, soon after the partition of India, acceded to India. From ancient times Kashmir has remained a crown of India. India has defended Kashmir during three Pakistani aggressions. India has spent billions of rupees on the development of Kashmir. Thus equating Kashmir with Palestine will be unrealistic why should then Pakistan accept this sort of settlement ? This will provoke Pakistan to play a mischief for further deteriorating the situation in Kashmir. For the past sometime Pakistan is presenting Kashmir as an Islamic prob-

lem for enlisting support from the west Asian and the gulf countries. The agreement between the PLO and Israel has incited Pakistan. As such Palestine type settlement of the Kashmir problem will not prove durable.

Day Dreaming

"Gulf News" in its issue of September 9, 1993, has published an analysis from a known journalist, Mohashid Hussain. According to him, "the meaning of Palestine type settlement of the Kashmir problem will be that Kashmiris, like the Palestinians, will be given some status within the Indian Union. This will have an advantage for India and Pakistan may be a loser. It is evident that holding of talks on Kashmir with Pakistan on the basis of the Oslo agreement would simply be day-dreaming and useless. Pakistan will not change her basic stand. Islamabad considers Kashmir as an Islamic issue and is comparing Kashmiri terrorists with Palestinians who are fighting for the nation. It means that Islamabad considers Pakistan as the homeland for Kashmiris. It has to be kept in view that America too recognises the Oslo agreement whereas the attitude of Clinton administration towards India is getting tough day by day. America will never allow Pakistan's case to get weakened. On the question of human rights the US administration has started berating India. It is oblivious of the atrocities being committed by ISI supported terrorists on innocent people of Kashmir. The Clinton administration refused to accept the report of the American Congress to declare Pakistan as a terrorist country. Thus President Clinton did even when America is aware of Pakistan interference in Kashmir and its support to militants. Thus linking Oslo agreement with Kashmir problem is foolish".

Need to understand Pak intentions

Our Foreign Minister has made yet another childish and ludicrous statement. He has said that in case Pakistan discloses her intentions, it will help us in finding a way. It is unfortunate that Indian Foreign Minister has not so far been able to understand the Pakistan's real intention. With the formation

of Pakistan, Mohd. Ali Jinnah had announced : "We have gladly got Pakistan and we will have India through force ". After this Pakistan launched three armed attacks on India. Now Pakistan has been instrumental in bloodshed in Punjab and Kashmir by encouraging militancy for the last several years. By launching a proxy war against India, Pakistan has destroyed Kashmir. Kashmir has become a Hinduless valley. Former Pakistan's President, Ishaq Khan has said : "Pakistan is incomplete without Kashmir". Prior to this Z.A. Bhutto too had talked of one thousand years war with India. Pakistani leaders rake up the Kashmir issue in the world fora treating Kashmir as an Islamic issue and propagate India to be in illegal occupation of Kashmir. But our Foreign Minister, who is a simpleton, yet to understand Pakistan's intention. This very political bankruptcy is taking Kashmir away from India.

1952 Delhi agreement

Ruling Congress leaders have started floating a new opinion for resolving the Kashmir tangle. According to this opinion, the Congressmen favour restoration of pre-1952 constitutional position which besides many things means introduction of permit system for visiting Jammu and Kashmir. It also envisages end of jurisdiction and powers of the Indian Parliament and the Supreme Court. Under this plan, the Chief Minister will have the nomenclature of Prime Minister and it will be Sadr-i-Riyasat in place of Governor and the State will no longer have the Indian national flag. It will also mean that the Indian Constitution will remain in force upto Lakhanpur only, and withdrawal of majority of Indian troops. Why do not supporters of restoration of pre-1952 constitutional position say that Kashmir be delinked from India and left to the mercy of Pakistan ? Why do not these supporters understand that once pre-1952 constitutional position is restored it will result in fulfilment of 90 per cent of the aims of the terrorists ? Such a plan will mean that terrorists will get all their demands on a plate when Government of India is spending millions of rupees on preventing State's deccession. If it happens, it will demoralise our security forces and their faith will be shakened.

Who will stop people of Jammu and Ladakh from staging a revolt against the restoration of pre-1952 position ? What justification is there if any agreement forged under pressure of Kashmiri terrorists is thrust on Jammu and Ladakh ? What will happen if the patriotic people of Jammu, who had launched a powerful agitation under the banner of Praja Parishad for three years against dictatorial and communal rule of Sheikh Abdullah, embark on revolt while seeing their rights being bartered away ? Already people of Jammu and Ladakh have been denied several rights. Now additional pressures and fetters will be intolerable. Throttling nationalists under the pressure of anti-national elements will never allow the problem to be resolved. The need of the hour is to merge Kashmir fully with India and efforts be made to bring Kashmiri youth to the national mainstream. If we, instead of scrapping Article 370, which has not given an opportunity to people of Kashmir to link themselves with India, restore pre-1952 constitutional position, it will further complicate the problem. Separatism will assume bigger dimensions and Pakistan may get added facilities for executing her plans. All the hurdles will be over for the Pakistan's intelligence agency.

Indian Constitutional powers on Kashmir

Withdrawal of all constitutional powers, which were extended to Jammu and Kashmir by Government of India after the Delhi Agreement of 1952, will mean another partition of the country. During the last 40 years several Central laws have been applied to Jammu and Kashmir which have brought parity between this and other States and have ensured development of this State. The 1954 Presidential proclamation had extended the jurisdiction of India to Jammu and Kashmir State. As per the Article 370, the jursidiction of the Indian Parliament has been extended along with all the matters in the Union List to Jammu and Kashmir with the concurrence of the State Government. Prior to this jurisdiction was limited to Defence, External Affairs and Communications. Similarly the jursidiction of the Supreme Court and the Chief Election Commission was also extended to Jammu and Kashmir under

the States Reorganisation Act of 1956. Jammu and Kashmir had become the 15th State of the Indian Union. In 1955 the provision for all India Services too was made in Jammu and Kashmir.

After the 1952 Delhi Agreement the then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, got more powers which he misused for tormenting and teasing people of Jammu and Ladakh. Sheikh's desire for an independent Kashmir further increased. Even the Council of Ministers had become a seat for intrigues. The Government of India had to dismiss Sheikh and arrested him on charge of his pro-Pak and separatist activities. Such painful events may be repeated again. After 1952 several democratic processes were implemented in Jammu and Kashmir. Will all these be withdrawn ? Today the Government of India can appoint any person as Governor of Jammu and Kashmir. Under the 1952 Delhi agreement it was Sadr-i-Riyasat instead of Governor and the State Government could appoint Sadr-i-Riyasat. Will all these arrangements be altered to make the Centre to lose its control totally on this State?

Why injustice to Jammu and Ladakh ?

After 1952, several laws were applied to the State on the basis of which a good opportunity became available for linking Jammu and Kashmir with Delhi so far as financial aspect is concerned. Under these very laws, the Government of India gave millions of rupees as financial aid to Kashmir. Restoration of pre-1952 position would directly mean end of these fiscal laws and arrangement. Why political leaders who support greater autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir formulate all their plans which only keep Kashmir in their mind ? Does it not mean that by this they want to keep Jammu and Ladakh sub-servient to Kashmir ? The entire State is spread over 8500 sq. miles. Out of this Jammu and Ladakh has an area of 5500 sq. miles and Kashmir valley has 3000 sq. miles area. Thus 3000 sq. miles area wants to gulp 5500 sq. miles. It is only because Kashmir is a Muslim dominated valley and the Government of India's policy of appeasement and politics of vote bank has nurtured undemocratic activities.

Since the partition of the country, the Government of India has spent over Rs. 90,000 crores on the State and out of this Jammu and Ladakh areas have received less than Rs. 20,000 crores. Still we think of restoring pre-1952 constitutional position or total autonomy because of the fear of the gun of the Kashmiri terrorists. If the dangerous designs of National Conference and ruling Congress leaders are given practical shape, it will mean victory for anti-national elements and birth of Praja Parishad type agitation in Jammu and Ladakh. If ruling Congress leaders are swayed by the plans of National Conference and full autonomy was given to Jammu and Kashmir, it will be the biggest blunder among all the mistakes committed on Kashmir so far.

Preparation for fourth dangerous alternative

The Kashmir problem has increased mental elusion of our so-called intellectuals, journalists and political leaders. Some have witnessed awakening of anti-Hindutva inclination. These persons have discovered the so-called fourth alternative to grant full autonomy to Kashmir with soft Indo-Pak border. India and Pakistan are to have equal share in the defence, foreign affairs and internal development of Kashmir. The plan is receiving full support in English newspapers.

In Hindustan Times February 5, 1953, Mr. Bhawani Sen Gupta floated the idea of fourth alternative. According to him, this is the concept of the State of undivided Jammu and Kashmir which will not be sovereign and free. But it will be independent in its internal affairs and it is possible that it will be free to establish financial connections with outside world. It will have no independent foreign policy. Its security can be guaranteed by India and Pakistan jointly or separately or through an agreement reached between India and Pakistan.

It becomes clear from Mr. Gupta's article that he treats Kashmir an independent unit without having any feeling for the people of Jammu and Ladakh.

Similarly another secular journalist, Mr. B.G. Verghese has written in Hindustan Times of March 25 that India should remain vigilant in the light of the developments in Yugosalvia

and Russia. Like the third world India and Pakistan are in the process of national reconstruction. The ancient land of India, the first nation on the earth, does not need any certificate for its nationalhood from any anti-Hindutva journalist.

Mr. Verghese is also in favour of the restoration of pre-1952 constitutional position in Kashmir. According to him, Kashmir should be free to manage all affairs except foreign affairs, defence and communications. The Line of Actual Control is to be treated as international border. This border should be made soft so that Kashmiris carry out trade and other cultural activities freely. Does not Mr. Verghese mean to have an open border so that Pakistan will have no difficulty in sending militants and arms to Kashmir ? This way separatists could easily cross over to Pakistan for training. Possibly journalists and anti-Hindutva intellectuals, with blessings of the Government of India, want to give a shrine to their liberalism and humanitarianism for handing over Kashmir to the militants.

Anti-Hindutva Group

One nationalist journalist, Mr. Tarun Vijay, Editor of weekly "Panchjanya", has given introduction to the activities of this group of intellectuals in his support. It could not be said why importance is to be given to the ideas of Verghese. The answer is that Verghese's group of secularists with pro-American, pro-Muslim and anti-Hindutva tilt is active because of the support of Government of India. These very people had gone to Washington to participate in a seminar organised by the American Home Department's Government agency 'Institute of Peace'. There was animated discussion in this seminar on the fourth alternative. After returning from Washington this group has engaged themselves in advocating the need for the fourth alternative. It indicates that everybody was supporting this alternative and it will be interesting to note who were all these people.

This American Institute had invited influential people from India, Pakistan, Kashmir and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. Disclosure of the names of the invitees will reveal the

truth. The invitees from India were Muchkund Dubey, A.G. Noorani, Bhabhuni Sen Gupta, Gen. A.S.Vohra, B.G.Verghese, Raj Mohan Gandhi and Mr. Ved Bhasin (who could not go). The invitees from Kashmir were Abdul Rashid Kabili, National Conference leader who openly supports the terrorists and Yousuf Jameel, BBC correspondent in Srinagar who is blamed for filing pro-terrorist news item. Jameel could not go to Washington. Noorani is known for his anti-Hindutva secular writings and for advocating cause of human rights of terrorists. It is said about the same A.G. Noorani that his links with Pakistan are so strong that during every Indo-Pak war he has been arrested. The invitees from Pakistan were Editor of Frontier Post, Khalid Ahmed, Yusuf Buchha, a researcher in one of the UN bodies, Lt. Gen. (Retd) Imran Ullah, Air Marshal Aiyaz Ahmed, Pakistan's former Ambassador in Syria, I.A. Rehman, Director of Human Rights Organisation in Islamabad and former Pakistan Foreign Secretary Abdul Sattar. The invitees from India to the seminar concealed details of the Conference and when the news leaked out they, in order to cover their shamefulness, wrote articles saying "we, had gone openly, there is nothing to hide".

It is worth mentioning here that not a single representative from the three lakh displaced Kashmiri Hindus was invited to the seminar which was organised to discuss the fate of Kashmir and take some decision on it. Thus it was simply a one-sided drama. The participants in this seminar included the supporters and favourits of ISI, patrons of terrorists and those who shed tears on the alleged excesses being committed by the security forces but those having been tortured and tormented by the terrorists could not get any representation in the seminar. This one fact gives an introduction to the real character of this Indian secular group which participated in the seminar.

Prime Minister's Iran visit

The Government of India should consider afresh matters connected with Kashmir. There is need to strengthen our base and India's case on the world stage. Pakistan has stolen a

march on India in this respect. Pakistan's plan of maligning Indian security forces, deployed in Kashmir, by levelling baseless charges against them on the international level has succeeded. On the other side we have not been able to project powerfully the strategy adopted by Pakistan in Kashmir. India could place Pakistan in the dock by carrying out powerful campaign against Pakistan trained militants who had thrown out three lakh Hindus from Kashmir, killed thousands of people, subjected women to several atrocities and rapes, and other incidents of torture and arson. India made no such attempts in any world forum. In September, 1993, Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao visited Iran. It is well known that Iran has remained supporters of Muslim terrorists in the world. Iranian President Rafsanjani had clearly said, during his tour of Pakistan, that the problem of Kashmir was the problem of entire Islam. Why did not the Indian Prime Minister take up the Kashmir problem with Iran in the context of Rafsanjani's statement ? Instead, Narasimha Rao assured Iranian President of security of the Muslims. He also expressed India's readiness to discuss the Kashmir problem with Pakistan.

By saying the above mentioned things the Indian Prime Minister has insulted people and security forces of India. Are Muslim in Kashmir insecure ? The Indian Prime Minister boasts that the Kashmir problem is an internal matter of India and the Hindus had not migrated from Kashmir because of Muslim fundamentalists. How far is it political wisdom when Indian leaders go to Iran and say there that they are ready to discuss Kashmir with Pakistan and resolve the dispute on the basis of give and take policy.

America's changing attitude

It has now become need of the hour to place the Kashmir question on its proper and real form on the international level. In the light of the developing world situation after the end of the cold war, India should adopt a rigid posture after many years the Kashmir issue has become matter of discussion in the Security Council. The new American President, Mr. Bill

Clinton has given clear indication of his policy towards Kashmir while addressing the UN Session. Though Bill Clinton could not present any clear policy on Kashmir, he admitted that Indian Kashmir is one among those regions where ethnic and religious struggle and civil war have touched new heights. Is the Government of India in agreement with this statement ? If not, why it has not given its reaction in the form of a clarification. India did not immediately clarify the situation when the American Assistant Foreign Secretary, John Mallot, during his tour of India described Kashmir a disputed territory.

Unashamedly John Mallot said that the two Kashmirs on either side of Line of Actual Control are disputed. India and Pakistan should jointly settle the dispute peacefully. While doing this the opinions of Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims should be kept in view. John Mallot launched further attack on India and said that America could postpone its decision to declare Pakistan as a terrorist country. Pakistan has reduced its support to militants in Punjab and Kashmir. It is in the interest of India to have Pakistan declared as a terrorist State. If Pakistan is declared as a terrorist State, it would mean stoppage of economic aid to her. Pakistan will not get military hardware and other spare parts.

John Mallot was influenced by this group of Indian intellectuals shedding tears over human rights violations and he said that the new Clinton administration is serious about human rights. He said that in this context the situation in India is deteriorating. There in Kashmir the civilians are being teased and tormented by the terrorists and security forces. The deteriorating situation on the human rights front could cast its shadow on economic co-operation between India and America, military training and joint military operations. The Indian Terrorist Act and death of terrorists in jails are clear violations of human rights".

The above mentioned American stand has made it clear that India has committed yet another blunder in not making the world known the real situation in Kashmir where terrorists have indulged in excesses and forced the Hindus to become destitutes. Now it is being admitted that Government of India

has not been able to project the problem of Kashmir before the world. So far Pakistan's proxy war was confined to Punjab and Kashmir but recent bomb blasts in Calcutta and Bombay have created scare throughout the country. People have started questioning the soft attitude of India towards Pakistan.

A white paper may be issued

In the light of changing situation India should take up firm stand. The rulers of India are aware of the realities in Kashmir but in the interests of power it does not want to lose a particular vote bank. Now another blunder cannot be repeated. If the solidarity of the nation is not kept above power politics, it will be difficult to protect the country's unity. There is no need to waste time and all the countries in the world should be informed accordingly so that they do not have any misunderstanding. The Government of India should release a white paper on the direct involvement of Pakistan in encouraging terrorism and violence in Punjab and Kashmir. The supporters of terrorism and traitors should be exposed in this white paper without any reservation. This white paper will on one hand boost the morale of the security forces and on the other encourage and strengthen innocent people of Kashmir. This white paper will help India in preparing world opinion against Pakistan's intelligence agency, ISI, for spreading terrorism in India.

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The Conclusion

Kashmir, India's paradise, centre for Indian culture, great seat of Shavite philosophy and a centre for attraction in the world, has lost its roots because of the 500-year rule of the Muslims. The basic shape of Kashmir has been altered after being smashed in the mill of forcible religious conversion. The very base of Indian nationalism has been weakened and shaken in the Kashyap's Kashmir where the basic culture, basic society and history have changed. Shrines, universities, libraries and all types of the centres of faith have been destroyed.

The phase of Islamisation of Kashmir, which was started 700 years ago, is still on. The aim of complete Islamisation set by the Syeds of Hamdan is being completed till date. According to one estimate, only about 500 families of Hindus are left at the mercy of the terrorists in Kashmir and these families have been allowed to stay as a show-piece for world consumption. The rest of Hindus have migrated from the Valley.

This development has caused worry to all political parties and the ruling organisation in the country. The growing separatism in the Valley is linked with the country's unity, integrity and peace. The Kashmiri separatist and anti-national elements have challenged our invaluable values of nationalism, secularism and unity in diversity. Pakistan's interference has converted the embers of separatism into the flames. India and

Indianness are burning in the fire of religious fanaticism. It has become difficult to trace India in Kashmir.

The politics of vote based on appeasement has kept the fate of Kashmir hanging. Even the responsibilities of maintaining national and constitutional integrity have been thrown to winds in the interest of personal friendship, sectarian interest, lust for vote bank, security of power and security of the daughter of a minister. The Congress, Janata Dal, Janata Party and Samajwadi Janata Dal have remained in power in the centre but no party has dared to sacrifice their political interests for finding a solid solution to the Kashmir problem. In front of our eyes the seeds of revolt against the nation were sown, they had been watered and the fertiliser of separatism and communalism was applied. The shadow of the tree of anti-nationalism, that developed over the years, has eclipsed the paradise on earth with its darkness. Our rulers have been committing one blunder after another since 1947. This is the result of directionless politics.

The world must be laughing over the Kashmir policy of the Indian rulers. On one side the rulers are not tired of repeating "strong steps" and "Kashmir is an inseparable part" on the other hand they make security forces an object of ridicule in front of the terrorists. Terrorists, arrested by the Army, are released in exchange for their relations which spoils the entire labour of the Army. Even the Governor is recalled if the Army returns the fire of the terrorists in which 10-12 terrorists are killed.

Let there be security zone for Kashmiri Hindus

The biggest success of militants and their patron, Pakistan, is the way Kashmir has become a Hinduless region. These very Hindus were an obstacle in the way of separatism who had held the national flag for 40 years while tolerating all types of atrocities. These Kashmiri Pandits had managed to live in Kashmir by clinging to their several thousand years old Kashmiriyat. They were the last symbol if Indianness in

Kashmir. When Jamait-e-Islami and other Muslim fundamentalist organisations, with the help of Pakistan, started Islamisation of Kashmir, these Kashmiri Pandits were their first target. We in India used to call Kashmir our land on the basis of these Pandits. How could the plans of the militants fructify in the presence of these Pandits ? Therefore, the plan of mass killings, loot, arson and rape forced over three lakh Hindus to migrate from the Valley. These migrants are living in refugee camps in many parts of the country and their pitiable condition sends shiver down one's spine.

The Hindu society in Kashmir is that type of a plank of which the people of India and the Government of India can protect Kashmir. Therefore, the first attempt should be made to facilitate the return of these Hindus safely and honourably to their homes in Kashmir. If it is done, India can have its base in Kashmir. These very Kashmiri Hindus are weapons through which we can destroy terrorism and therefore, the protection of their morale and their identity is essential.

If with the passage of time these Hindus get scattered in different parts of India and ultimately settle there, then the very base for fighting for Kashmir gets lost. Once they get scattered in the country it will not only make them lose their identity but also make them lose their desire for going back to Kashmir. Two things are necessary for it :

1. Let all of them remain at one place.
2. Their desire to return to their homes should remain strong and intact.

This needs proper approach and plan which may make them eager for achieving the sole aim of going back to Kashmir. At an opportune time youths, belonging to this community, could be sent to Kashmir for assisting the Army. Who else has better knowledge about the topography and the society in Kashmir than these youths ? It will be better to find out a secure place in Kashmir where they could be rehabilitated in security zones. It will be exciting and feasible for them to blow the bugle of struggle while standing on the soil of Kashmir.

There should be made some constitutional provision under which these Kashmiri Hindus, living in the security

zones, are permitted to possess arms and are allowed to run the administration to some extent. Let this work be carried out under the supervision of the Central Government and the Army officers. This way these people can remain linked with the land of Kashmir and can face Islamic fundamentalism. It can prevent them from getting scattered and they can have faith in Kashmir.

Pakistani training camps be destroyed

The proxy war launched by Pakistan needs to be fought in a similar way. Let the Government display courage in crushing militancy through strong Army action. Pakistan needs to be told in clear terms that it should stop the training camps otherwise they would be destroyed through military action. Such an action is permissible under the International law. Keeping the security of the country at the top such steps should be taken on priority basis. Pakistan is not changing its strategy and activities despite our repeated requests. Why then the delay ? Why the delay in blowing the war bugle when Draupadi had been undressed ? There is domination of militants in the Jammu and Kashmir police and, therefore, there is need for removing them from the border villages and paramilitary forces be deployed there and they should be given protection of the vital Government installations.

Do not release terrorists

The arrested terrorists be tried by the military tribunal instead of civil courts so that they are convicted immediately. Those terrorists who are in jails, their activities should be reviewed. The cowardice of releasing the jailed militants in exchange for kidnapped people be stopped. If we have to surrender before the militants why should the Army be deployed because it affects their morale and is insulting for the forces. There is need for giving a free hand to the Army in dealing strictly with the militants.

Let communal schools be closed

Pro-Pakistan elements in the state administration be weeded out after proper screening. Honest and nationalist officers be provided adequate security and installed on key posts which will help curbing the revolt. The religious schools run by Jamait-e-Islami be stopped so that patrons of separatism are finished. Attack the mother of sin in order to finish sin.

Abrogate Article 370

The Article 370 is meaningless in the light of Pakistan's training to terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir and owing to moral and material support from across the border to militants who have launched a revolt with the help of fundamentalist leaders and organisations. Why should there be reluctance in scrapping Article 370 which has nourished subversion in the state and which has prevented Muslims of the state from joining the national mainstream ? What is the rationale behind giving constitutional legitimacy to the subversive activities of those who while undermining Indian nationalism, secularism and the central authority, insult the national flag and the constitution and remain in conflict with India by giving them the special status ? As a result of Article 370 the President of India and the Parliament remain inactive in Jammu and Kashmir. For extension of the central laws the approval of the State Assembly is necessary. The national flag has to flutter beside the state flag. Is it not an attack on the basic idea of our united structure ? People of India cannot purchase property in Jammu and Kashmir and they cannot exercise franchise there. What more insulting can be to our democratic setup ?

How far is it just to give special status to a part of the country, where there is majority of one particular community, which boasts of secularism in the world ? The Misuse of Religious Places Act can be applicable to India but not to Jammu and Kashmir where even the national or financial emergency cannot be enforced. Under Article 370 the Indian Army does not get a free hand in dealing with insurgency. Pakistan received strength in launching a propaganda cam-

paign against India because of the policy of confusion whether Kashmir is really a part of India. This Article has given constitutional and moral support to the principle of two-nation theory. This Article has prepared a solid ground for the establishment of Muslim nation in Kashmir. Under the umbrella of this Article, Jamait-e-Islami and other communal organisations have received financial and political support for promoting separatism based on Islam. The Kashmiri Muslim leaders have succeeded in carrying out economic discrimination and exploitation of Jammu and Ladakh regions.

Therefore, the time has come when by abrogating this Article and Jammu and Kashmir state is brought at par with other states in the country. The repeal of this Article will break the back of the militants. The morale of the Indian Army will receive a boost. It will establish the authority of President of India, Parliament and the Constitution in the state. It will shake the base of disinformation campaign of Pakistan and weaken the form of the Kashmir problem assuming religious and international contours. This way separatism in other Indian states can be controlled. People belonging to other states can live in Jammu and Kashmir. They can establish their business, buy property and thereby end the domination of a particular community. It will bury the fraud of double citizenship of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

State be reorganised

There is need for reorganisation of Jammu and Kashmir state so that Assembly and Lok Sabha seats are determined on the basis of population thereby ending the political imbalance. This way representation of people of Jammu and Ladakh would grow. Hitherto, the system had been based on false figures in order to preserve the supremacy of the Muslim society. It deserves special mention here that hitherto only a Kashmiri Muslim has remained Chief Minister for the last 40 years and most of the posts right from the bottom to the top have been occupied by Muslims which has resulted in corruption. Some political parties are in favour of the trifurcation of the State

with separate regional councils for Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir. This is a good proposition because it will ensure freedom for the people of the three regions to think about their welfare. All the three regions will witness pace in the development works and prevent the flames of terrorism from engulfing Jammu and Ladakh regions.

The reorganisation of Jammu and Kashmir state is necessary in the interest of India's integrity and independence. It has been a misfortune for India and the State that Jammu and Kashmir was kept beyond the jurisdiction of the State Reorganisation Commission in 1954. Had the state been reorganised on the basis reorganisation was undertaken for other states in India, the current problem in Kashmir would have been buried there and then. But the pro-Muslim policies of the Government of India resulted in the sacrifice of the interests of the people of Jammu and Ladakh regions. The people of these two regions continue to be victims of the bigotry of the majority community of Kashmir. Jammu and Ladakh regions are bigger than Kashmir in terms of area and population but the policy of appeasement of the Central Government has deprived them of their simple rights.

There is nothing common between the Kashmir Valley and Jammu-Ladakh regions as far as topography, language, style of living and necessities are concerned. Even the mountain ranges cause a natural division in these three regions. The inter-regional movement also gets blocked because of snow in winter and rain during the monsoon. There is nothing common between the three regions. Ladakh region has a special importance so far the question of India's security is concerned. It has not an iota of link with the Kashmir valley. Geographically the shortest route that links Ladakh with India is in Kishtwar-paddar area of Jammu. Territorially and regionally Ladakh is nearer to Lahul, Sipiti and Pong areas of Himachal Pradesh and these areas can be joined together to form a state on the pattern of Arunachal Pradesh. This area can have a regional or hill council. Ladakh is now connected with Lahul and Kulu valley in Himachal Pradesh by a road. The long road link between Leh and Srinagar is also unsystematic and

undependable. And administratively linking Ladakh with Kashmir is not feasible. Area wise and on the basis of mineral wealth Ladakh is not backward and through development the area can become self-sufficient.

The reorganisation of the state can prevent people from being deprived of their democratic rights. The pace of economic development will increase. While carrying out reorganisation of the state many aspects deserve a careful attention. The Government should keep in mind the security of the country while reorganising the state. It should keep in mind security of the minorities in the three regions, activities of the separatists, Pakistan's proxy war and the honourable rehabilitation of three lakh displaced Kashmiri Hindus. If such matters are not given a serious thought, reorganisation and establishment of regional councils will be not only meaningless but also prove counterproductive. The proxy war launched by Pakistan in Kashmir can get extended to Jammu and Ladakh which is the aim of Pakistan. Already the plan has been set in motion in Doda district of Jammu. It also deserves serious consideration as to how these small areas in the border belt, close to Pakistan, can be reorganised in the light of national security.

If the reorganisation of the state is not undertaken strictly in the light of national security, it may promote further the existing attitude. In this context consideration of the future of the three Lakh Kashmiri Hindus is essential for the security of the nation. "Save Kashmir" is necessary for protection of country's integrity. And it is important for the preservation of Kashmir in India to facilitate settlement of Hindus in Kashmir. To think of settlement of the Kashmir problem without Kashmiri Pandits is equal to declaration of Kashmir as a Muslim state. Therefore, in which of the regional councils these Kashmiri Hindus will have a place ? Answer to this question has to be searched.

It is as necessary to make the arrangement for the establishment of three regional councils as it is to rehabilitate Kashmiri Hindus in Kashmir under security. After this regional councils will have the freedom to run the administration freely. The three regions can also be made union territories. But

for the proper economic and political development of the three regions, it would be better to have separate councils where the Kashmiri Pandits have secure representation in the Kashmir regional council. For the entire state there should be one Assembly, one Governor and one High Court. All the border districts in the entire state be have one security belt and for Kashmiri Pandits five to seven Assembly seats be reserved in the State.

Under this provision development of all the three regions will be ensured and there would be no curtailment of rights of the people of one or the other region. It will also ensure secure place for Kashmiri Hindus and security arrangements in the border can be strengthened, Kashmir can be made an inseparable part of India and the Muslim society in Kashmir can be brought to the national mainstream.

Self-introspection by Kashmiri Hindus

While finding a solution to the Kashmir problem, it will be apt to accept the bitter truth in the interest of the nation that the attitude and weakness of the mind of Kashmiri Hindus and their indifference have also been responsible for the current problem. The entire nation was crushed in the mill of religious conversion. In the entire country Muslim Sultans and Kings made an attempt to convert the Hindu society to Islam but except for Kashmir the Hindus maintained their supremacy. Generation after generation the Hindu society in India struggled. For centuries the armed struggle continued. In the shape of Shivaji, Rana Pratap and Guru Gobind Singh the Hindu society succeeded in maintaining its existence. But in Kashmir 95 per cent Hindus adopted Islam and that too within a short period of 400 years. Nowhere there was united armed reaction from the Hindus in Kashmir, sporadic reactions being exceptions.

The bitter fact of history has to be accepted that the Hindu society in Kashmir remained like a snapped kite in the vacuum in the absence of solid leadership during the last 700 years. Exceptions apart, no brave and courageous leadership has developed in Kashmir. This is the reason for that very basic

society to get displaced and move about as mendicants which, on the basis of its strength, enjoyed freedom and would give to the world the light of knowledge for 4,000 years. It can be said here that since Hindus in Kashmir were in minority, they could not revolt but this situation did not develop overnight. The Hindu society was reduced to minority gradually and today Kashmir is a Hinduless area. There has been no such display of weakness in any other part of India and even today Hindus have remained steadfast. In Afghanistan and Sind, the number of these Hindus is much less than the number of Hindus in Kashmir.

Their Selfish and narrow-visioned leadership

It has also remained a matter of misfortune for the Hindu society in Kashmir that its intellectual leadership has sided with those rulers who have been responsible for the destruction of Kashmir. It is worth mentioning here that while the average Hindu has remained a nationalist, brave and courageous, their leaders have been always displaying cowardice. Here the leaders have discouraged bold and courageous youths. Even while occupying top and influential posts in the Congress and the National Conference, these leaders have not done anything in uniting the Hindu society and in carrying out any development work for them. These leaders always thought about the welfare of their families. They would side with the anti-national leader like Sheikh Abdullah and kept on piling up the instrument of destruction for the Hindu society of Kashmir. Some of them even where supporters of Sheikh Abdullah's idea of independent Kashmir. These very Hindu leaders of Kashmir had opposed strongly the national movement of Praja Parishad.

Leaders like D.P. Dhar, R.C. Kak, Sham Lal Saraf, Justice Jia Lal Kilam, Kashyap Bandhu, Prem Nath Bazaz, Dina Nath Nadim, Makhan Lal Fotedar, P.L. Handoo and Shiv Narain Fotedar, who remained in the council of ministers and in important Government seats, have never done anything for allowing the Hindu society in Kashmir to lead an honourable living. They never allowed the nationalist leadership to come

forward in Kashmir. They misguided the Hindu youths and made them indifferent. Prof. Balraj Madhok has given an account of the above mentioned problem in his book "Kashmir" because he was the man who had understood the problem right from the beginning. According to him, Kashmiri Pandits could play an important role in finding a solution of the Kashmir problem. They had approach upto Pt. Nehru. They could well understand his Kashmiri psyche. Had the Kashmiri Pandits adopted a nationalist and realist thinking and mounted pressure on the Government of India, the situation in Kashmir would have been different today and they would not have been forced to flee from their houses in Kashmir. But unfortunately Kashmiri Pandit leaders never saw beyond the immediate. By their actions and role they too have confirmed it that they are Kashmiris first and Indian and Hindus later. They eulogised Sheikh Abdullah without any limit. They even compared the Sheikh to Lord Krishan and pressurised Nehru to accept his (Sheikh's) every demand. They never tried to understand with sympathy the problem of Hindus and Buddhists in Jammu and Ladakh. It is a bitter truth that Kashmiri Pandit leaders like D.P. Dhar played a dirty and self-destructive role in sabotaging the movement of the people of Jammu for their existence.

At the time of the partition there were about seven lakh Hindus in Kashmir and had their leaders done some constructive work for the community, Hindus, even being in the minority, could have emerged as a powerful society. But these Pandit leaders left these Hindus at the mercy of local Muslims and kept on licking the feet of the State the Central Governments and whenever any misfortune affected the community, these leaders adopted an attitude of indifference. It is the same coward leadership of Kashmiri Pandits which is responsible for mass exodus of Hindus from Kashmir. The first to flee Kashmir were these very leaders. Who could sustain the Hindus when Hindu leaders belonging to the Congress and the National Conference took to their heels ? At that time RSS workers came to the front. They remained steadfast till the last moment and kept on boosting the morale of the Hindu society.

Kashmiri youths : awake

Whatever has been written here is not to discourage the Hindu society of Kashmir but to bring them down from the world of unreality to the ground of reality. If the Hindus of Kashmir want to return to their homes safely and honourably, they have to change their community attitude. The youth in particular should learn from the mistakes committed by their ancestors and kick out their cowardice and unite while adopting bravery and martial spirit. The Kashmiri Hindu youths should remember the sword of their glorious ancestor, Lalitaditya, whose strike had reached the distant Central Asia. There is need for picking up the spear of Sangram Raj and Trilochanpal which had forced Mohammad of Gaznavi to lick the dust. There is need for shooting the arrow of Chandrapeed of which the Arab chieftains were scared of and took to their heels. There is need to adopt the Chakra of Vishnu which had beheaded Jalodbhav making an end of demonic elements in Kashmir.

When Kashmiri Pandits, after swearing by the weapon of Parshuram, decide with courage to return to their land, no power on the earth can stop them. The Hindu society of the entire world will stand by them. Even God also help those who help themselves. On seeing Kashmiri Pandits united and in a defiant mood, the pro-Pak and anti-national elements too would be forced to stage a retreat. Fortunately Kashmiri Hindus, especially the youth, are today motivated by nationalism and are eager to measure swords with the separatists. Several Hindu nationalist organisations are active in seeing the displaced families return to Kashmir. The Kashmir problem has awakened the political opinionists. The so called liberal people in the country have started realising that the hidden anti-national bias in the Muslim psyche should have been understood at the time of the partition.

Nation and nationalism

According to political pandits and philosophers all over the world, national unity and separatism are two different and

opposing elements. Paucity in the outlook of nationalism breeds regionalism which gives birth to separatism. Powerful feeling of nationalism is the right weapon for finishing separatism. The poison of separatism spreading in some regions in India is the lack of the feeling of one nation.

In reality when the country achieved independence, the then rulers should have framed the constitution on the basis of nation and its culture. But none had neither the conception nor the worry about national culture. The result was that the national outlook got eclipsed because the educational and economic policies remained divided in many social and political groups. Blind copying of the western pattern remained the base of our policies. Everything of the forces of the British imperialism was considered supreme and even we visualised and understood nation and nationalism through the western spectacles. Deliberately the British historians presented, in a twisted form, our national history, national culture and national outlook for their selfish political interest and while becoming victim of their conspiracy we relinquished our ancient glory. The result was that community, region, sect, language etc. pushed back nationalism and the problems of Kashmir, Punjab and Assam are its product.

The feeling of nationalism cannot be born without understanding national culture. Right from the beginning India has remained as one nation, one people, one country and one culture. According to the Indian philosophy, nation is a cultural unit which can be developed not constructed. In the west nation has been merged with the Government which has been considered a political unit. Culture unites people and politics disintegrates them. Therefore, so long the nation remained linked with culture, this country remained united but when the western political influence became dominant, it gave birth to the country's disintegration. This is the misfortune for Kashmir. So long the high ideals of nation and national culture remained dominant, the religious activities remained linked with the Indian nation. But when religion was brought into politics and the conception of creation of an ethnic state developed, it paved the way for separatism in Kashmir.

The modes of worship, born and developed in Kashmir, which included snake worship, Shaivism, Buddhism, Vaishnavism never came into conflict with one another because they remained linked with the Indian nationalism. Even the foreign rulers like Kanishka and Mihir, who belonged to Kushan and Hun sects respectively, had accepted Buddhism and Shaivism and while indianising their sect had merged with the Indian national mainstream. But the advent of Islam in Kashmir gave birth to inter-sectarian conflict, religious conversion, and separatism. The reason was clear because Islam does not permit its followers to get linked with any country and its national culture. Wherever there is Muslim majority, there should be Islamic state. Pakistan too is the result of this opinion. The forcible religious conversion of Hindus in Kashmir and now their mass exodus are the offshoots of this anti-national trend.

Which Kashmiriyat ?

Have Hindus no share of that Kashmiriyat on the basis of which militants want an independent state ? Of which Kashmiriyat the militants are talking about ? Is it 500 or 5,000 year old ? That time everyone in Kashmir was a Hindu. Today's terrorists are the sons of Hindu ancestors. In Kashmir, like the rest of the country, Hindus and Muslims have same ancestors, same history, same culture and the same land. Therefore, nationalism too is same. Then how can the ancestors change with the change in religion and the mode of worship ? Can it be construed that wherever Muslims are in majority they will have their separate nationalism and get delinked from India ? This bitter truth of history has to be accepted. It also means that for the protection of India, its culture and its geography the Hindus have to be protected. By uniting and protecting Hindus, nationalism, secularism and culture can be protected. The history of the world is replete with events indicating that wherever Muslims are in majority fundamentalism would raise its head to give birth to separatism.

It is necessary to link all communities and sects of the

Indian society with national culture in order to stop disintegration permanently. This work cannot be executed on the political level. There is need for inculcating the spirit of national culture in the new generation. The generation should have to be told that our country, our ancestors, our history, our holy places are same and equal. The change in the ways of worship does not change nationality. There are thousands of modes of worship, sects, communities, faiths in India but nationalism is one.

Right from Kashmir to Kanyakumari India is one. An account of this one nationality is given in 2000-year old Vishnu Puran.

Its meaning is : There in the north of the sea and in the south of the Himalayan range is a country called "Bharat" (India) whose sons are called Indians.

Suggestion to Kashmiri Muslims

Muslims in Kashmir should realise it that by joing Pakistan or by remaining independent they will neither remain safe nor can they protect their Kashmiriyat. Their Islamic principles too will remain safe in the Kashmiriyat based on the culture of their ancestors. The amount of religious freedom that exists in Indian culture is found nowhere. This Indian culture has been watered with blood by Rishis and saints of Kashmir. Those Rishis and saints are the ancestors of both Hindus and Muslims. They should protect and feel proud of the Kashmiriyat and culture of their ancestors. It is against the tenets of the holy Quran and Islamic values to destroy this culture, finish Kashmiri Pandits who have preserved this Kashmiriyat and to destroy the paradise on the earth as Kashmir is called. If Islam teaches brotherhood, why then this bloodshed ? Kashmiri youths should understand that the way they have adopted will not only insult and negate Islam but they will not achieve anything. They should not stain the verdant Kashmir valley with blood under the influence of Pakistan. The dream of independent Kashmir too is unrealistic and Pakistan will never tolerate independent Kashmir. It will not give any military or economic aid. What has he to give ? Hitherto several thousand

crores of rupees have been spent on the development works by India in Kashmir and all this will be stopped with deaccession. Kashmir's tourism industry, economic development and geographical security are secure because of India.

Accept mistakes

Therefore, the one solution to the Kashmir problem is that our Kashmiri Muslim brothers should link themselves, like other Indians, with the national mainstream and the Government of India need to adopt solid steps for resolving the problem after accepting it as a national problem and following its acceptance of its earlier mistakes.

But the misfortune is that the politics of vote comes in the way of acceptance of the mistakes. It is because of this that the history of mistakes and foolishness keeps on repeating itself. There is need for national consensus on protection of Kashmir which is possible if all political parties give up their selfish political ends. But national consensus is not possible because of paucity of national outlook. When in place of the nation the eyes are fixed on power and vote bank, how can the national outlook grow ?

How can this materialise, the 84 crore people of the country have to answer it. The sole solution to all problems in the country lies in the baptism of the people of national culture.

Addendum-1

Instrument of Accession of Maharaja Hari Singh (October 26, 1947)

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as from the fifteenth day of August 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as India, and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications and the Governor-General may by order specify be applicable to the Dominion of India.

And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof :

Now, therefore,

I Shriman Indar Mahanander Rajrajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Shri Hari Singh Ji, Jammu Kashmir Naresh Tatha Tibbet adi Deshadipathi, Ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State, in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor-General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purpose of the dominion, shall, by virtue of this my instrument of accession, but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India on the 15th day of August 1947 (which act as so in force is hereafter referred to as ("the Act").

2. I hereby assume the obligations of ensuring that due effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this state so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

3. I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws.

4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor-General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947 unless such amendment is accepted by me by an Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorising the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purposes of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed, or in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future constitution.

8. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. In hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that my reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this twentysixth day of October, nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

Hari Singh

Maharajadhiraj of Jammu and Kashmir State.

The Governor General of India, Lord Mountbatten, accepted the accession proposal under the powers vested in him on October 27, 1947.

Sd./—

(Lord Mountbatten, Governor General)

Addendum-2

Letter of the Maharaja to Patel

According to the published Correspondence of Sardar Patel, Volume One, Maharaja Hari Singh wrote to the Sardar on January 31, 1948, a long letter giving vent to his agony. In the course of this letter, he wrote : "The military situation as you know has been quite depressing since the arrival of the Indian troops. Except the first gains in the Kashmir Valley there has been a debt balance throughout so far as achievements are concerned.

"The Indian troops arrived in the Valley on 27 October, at that time we were in possession of about 3/4th of Poonch and the whole of the Mirpur district. We had by then lost only small bits of Poonch and Muzaffarabad district. After the recapture of Baramulla and Uri, there has been a standstill. Two months have passed and the Indian troops are still at Uri. They attempted to venture to the town of Poonch and though they reached it, it was at a great cost and the road was eventually lost. In the Poonch Jagir, which was held by the state troops inch by inch, we had to withdraw and eventually lost the whole of the Jagir except the town itself, where about 40,000 people are besieged alongwith 4 battalions (3 state and 1 Indian). The situation is by no means satisfactory. I may mention that in the August disturbances, with two battalions of the state troops we cleared the whole of Poonch Jagir, peace was restored, the whole of the revenue was realised and the administration was functioning normally. It was only in the second week of October that trouble again began in Poonch and our troops resisted it till about the end of December. But as no help was given, they had eventually to fall back on Poonch town..."

He went on : "In Mirpur district, at the time when the Indian forces arrived, we are still holding Mangla and our territory along the Jehlum Canal bank, but during the past two months we have lost Mangla, Alibeg, Gurdwara, and the town of Mirpur, the town of Bhimber and the villages of Deva and Battala, the town of Rajouri and the whole of the area adjoining Chhamb, Naoshera. Jhangar, a key-place both for Mirpur and Kotli, was lost after a defeat. These defeats have been a heavy blow for us and have also undermined the prestige of the Indian forces. Not a single town has so far been recovered by the Indian troops. The people judge an army from results and not from propaganda carried on about it. On the Kathua-Sialkot border attacks have been intensified. Everyday there is one raid after another. A number of villages have been burnt, people have been looted, women abducted and there have been killings also. The result has been that all the border villages have been vacated and we have about 70,000 to 80,000 refugees in the city of Jammu. Crops, houses and valuables have been lost. Most of the people are also vacating Jammu and its suburbs and are going to West Punjab. The situation, therefore, is worsening everyday.

Name of the Indian Army getting into the mud

"The name of the Indian Army is getting into the mud in spite of its brilliant record. I was a member of the War Cabinet. I travelled in war zones during the Great war. The name of the Indian Army was at its highest pitch and it pains me to see that the name of the Indian Army has become a topic of every tongue during these days and it is daily losing prestige. Some people think that it is not the fault of the Army but the fault of the policy that is being followed : others feel that it is the fault of the commanders who are quite new to the job. People who would have had to wait for 10 to 15 years to become generals have been put in charge of operations. Opinions differ, but the fact is that the name of the Army is in the mud. Sardar Baldev Singh was here for a day. He has heard from our politicians,

members of the public and from me and my Prime Minister all that everyone had to say. He told me secretly that he had ordered certain actions to be taken. I told him that a mere order is nothing unless it is implemented. When you kindly spent two days with us here, a number of decisions were taken and you gave instructions in certain matters. Since your departure nothing has been done and, as I have said, we had more serious attacks. The effort on the part of Pakistan is gaining ground everyday. Their morale owing to success is going up. They loot property, they take away cattle and women and when they go back to Pakistan, they incite people and tell them how much loot and what benefits there are to raid our territory. On the other hand, our morale is rapidly going down. So far as the people are concerned, they are thoroughly demoralised and they start fleeing as soon as there is even a rumour of a raid. Even people living at distant places start fleeing when they see fire five or six miles from their villages. So far as the Indian forces are concerned, they do not leave their apportioned places to meet the raiders. There are no mobile columns to meet them. The work is felt to a few Home Guards or to a platoon or so of very tired state forces. How can it be possible for them to engage 500 or 1,000 raiders ? Last time you ordered guerrillas to come into the state and take over this work. As far as I know, no guerrillas have arrived so far...

"In the situation, therefore, my position as Ruler has become very anamolous and one of great perplexity. People in the State continue sending me telegrams and asking for help. Our civil administration is in the hands of the National Conference and military operations in the hands of the Indian Union. I have no voice or power either on the civil or military side. The State forces are under the Indian Army Commander. The result, therefore, is that I have just to watch the terrible situation in a helpless manner, to look on at the abduction of women, killing and loss of my people, without power to give them any redress whatever. People continue to approach me everyday and they still think that it lies in my power to give them relief and redress. You will realise that my position is

getting most awkward every day, so long as the military situation is adverse to us and refugees continue pouring in the city and daily raids from Pakistan keep on coming without any reply from us."

He then went on to say : "Apart from the military situation, the reference to the UNO and the proceedings that are hanging fire there are causing great uncertainty and perplexity not only to me but to every Hindu and Sikh in the State as well as to those who belong to the National Conference. The feeling is strongly gaining ground that the UN Security Council will take an adverse decision and that the State will eventually have to accede to Pakistan as a result of what the Security Council will decide. The Hindus and Sikhs have, therefore, started going away from the State, as they anticipate that the result of the UNO decision will be the same as what happened in West Punjab and therefore it is much better to clear out of the State before that eventuality arises. The National Conference leaders also feel that they may eventually be let down by accepting the decision of the Security Council and what would be disastrous for them.

"My position in this matter is also precarious. You know I definitely acceded to the Indian Union with the idea that the Union will not let us down and the State would remain acceded to the Union and my position and that of my dynasty would remain secure. It was for this reason that I accepted the advice of the Indian Union in the matter of internal administration. If we have to go to Pakistan, it was wholly unnecessary to accede to India or to mould the internal administration according to the desire of the Indian Union. I feel that the internal administration or the question of accession is wholly foreign to the jurisdiction of the Security Council. The Indian Union only referred a limited question to the Security Council, but the whole issue has been enlarged and not only the matter of aggression by one Dominion over the other is being considered by the Security Council but internal questions of the formation of the Interim Government and the matter of accession have all been taken notice of by them. It was a wrong step in going to

Security Council and then agreeing to the enlargement of the agenda before that Council. As soon as the Council enlarged the agenda, the Indian Union should have withdrawn the reference and ended the matter.

"In the situation described above, a feeling comes to my mind as to the possible steps that I may take to make, so far as I am concerned, a clean state of the situation. Sometimes I feel that I should withdraw the accession that I have made to the Indian Union. The Union provisionally accepted the accession and if the Union cannot recover back our territory and is going eventually to agree to the decision of the Security Council which would result in handing us over to Pakistan, then there is no point in sticking to the accession of the State to the Indian Union. For the time being, it may be possible to have better terms from Pakistan, but that is immaterial, because eventually it would mean an end of the dynasty and end of the Hindus and Sikhs in the State. There is an alternative possible for me and that is to withdraw the accession and that may kill the reference to the UNO, because the Indian Union will have no right to continue the proceedings before the Council, if the accession is withdrawn. The result may be return to the position the State held before the accession. The difficulty in that situation however, will be that the Indian troops ....have to work as volunteers to help the State. I am prepared to takeover command of my own forces along with the forces of the Indian Army personally to help the State. I am prepared to lead the Army personally and to command if the Indian Union agrees, also their troops. I know my country much better than any of your generals will know it even during the next several months or years and I am prepared to take the venture boldly rather than merely keep on sitting here doing nothing. It is for you to consider whether the Indian Union will accept this in both the situations, whether after the withdrawal of the accession or even if the accession continues. I am tired of my present life and it is much better to die fighting than watch helplessly the heartbreaking misery of my people.

"Another alternative that strikes me is that if I can do nothing, I should leave the State (short of abdication) and reside outside so that people do not think that I can do anything for them. For their grievances they can hold the civil administration responsible or the Indian forces who are in charge of the defence of the State. The responsibility will then clearly be either the Indian Union or of the administration of Sheikh Abdullah. If there is any criticism, those responsible can have it and the responsibility for the suffering of the people will not be mine. Of course, I well anticipate that, as people started saying when I left Kashmir only on Mr. Menon's advice, that I had run away from Srinagar, they will say that I have left them in their hour of misery, but it is no use remaining in a position where one can do nothing merely to avoid criticism. Of course, if I go out of the State, I will have to take the public into confidence and tell them the reasons why I am going out.

"The third alternative in the situation that has arisen is that the Indian Dominion discharges its duty on the military side effectively and makes an all-out effort to stop the raids from Pakistan and to drive out of the State not only the raiders but also all rebels. This can only be done if the Dominion really fights. It has avoided fighting so far. Two or three courageous battles will more or less end this situation, and, if it is delayed, there is bound to be a catastrophe. Pakistan is more organised against Kashmir than the Indian Dominion, and as soon as snow melts it will start attacking Kashmir on all sides and the province of Ladakh will also come into the hands of the enemy and the Valley and the whole border will be raided and even double the number of troops at present in Jammu and Kashmir will not be able to save the situation. What should have been done and achieved a month before can still be achieved during the next month, but if matters are delayed and if owing to the UNO reference and the attitude of compromise, the situation remains at a standstill, it would become terribly grave after the expiry of the month. Therefore, unless the Indian Union makes up its mind to fight fully and effectively, I may have to decide upon the two alternatives mentioned above.

Sardar Patel's Advice

To this letter Sardar Patel replied on February 9, 1948, and said in the course of his reply : "I fully realise what an anxious time you must be having. I can assure you that I am no less anxious about the Kashmir situation and what is happening in the UNO, but whatever the present situation may be, counsel of despair is entirely out of place."

Addendum-3

Article 370 of the Constitution of India

Temporary provisions with respect of the State of Jammu and Kashmir

(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution :

(a) the provisions of Article 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(b) the power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to

(i) those matters in the Union List and the concurrent List which in consultation with the Government of the State, are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Dominion of India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State; and

(ii) such other matters in the said Lists as, with the concurrence of the Government of the State, the President may by order specify.

1. Explanation : For the purposes of this Article, the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognised by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharaja's Proclamation dated the fifth day of March, 1948.

(c) the provisions of Article (I) and of this Article shall apply in relation to this State ;

(d) Such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to the State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order specify :

Provided that no such order which related to the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in paragraph (i) of sub-clause (b) shall be issued except in consultation with the Government of the State;

Provided further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last proceeding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of the Government.

(2) If the concurrence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (ii) of sub-clause (b) of clause (1) or in the second proviso to sub-clause (d) of that clause be given before the Constitutent Assembly for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the State is convened, it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decision as it may take thereon.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of the Article, the President may, by public notification, declare that this Article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications and from such date as he may notify.

Provided that the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State referred to in clause (2) shall be necessary before the President issues such a notification.*

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*In exercise of the powers conferred by Article 370 the President, on the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, declared that as from the 1st day of November 1952, the said Article 370 shall be operative with the modification that for the Explanation in clause (1) thereof the following explanation is substituted namely:

Explanation : For the purpose of this Article the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognised by the President on the recommendation of the Legislative Assembly of the State as the Sadr-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir, acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers of the State for the time being in office.

Addendum-4

Shimla Agreement

Shimla Agreement on Bilateral Relations between India and Pakistan signed by Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and President of Pakistan, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, in Shimla on July 3, 1972.

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their people.

In order to achieve this objective, the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have agreed as follows :-

(i) That the principles and the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries.

(ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations.

(iii) That the prerequisite for reconciliation good neighbourlines and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-

existence' respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

(iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedevilled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means.

(v) That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality.

(vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such informations as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

In order progressively to restore and normalise relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that :

(i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border, posts and air links including over-flights.

(ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.

(iii) Trade and co-operation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.

(iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

In this connection delegation from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that :

(i) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.

(ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971, shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or use of force in violation of this line.

(iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

This agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, and will come into force with effect from the date on which the instruments of ratification are exchanged.

Both Governments agree that their respective heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that in the meanwhile the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

Addendum-5

Kashmir Accord (February 1975)

Agreed conclusions which led to Sheikh Abdullah's accord with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, and his subsequent assumption of office as Chief Minister in February 1975.

1. The State of Jammu and Kashmir which is a constituent unit of the Union of India, shall, in its relation with the Union, continue to be governed by Article 370 of the Constitution of India.
2. The residuary powers of legislation shall remain with the State; however, Parliament will continue to have power to make laws relating to prevention of activities directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about accession of a part of the territory of India or accession of a part of the territory of India from the Union or causing insult to the Indian National Flag, the Indian National Anthem and the Constitution.
3. Where any provision of the Constitution of India has been applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir with adaptations and modifications, such adaptations and modifications can be altered or repealed by an order of the President under Article 370, each individual proposal in this behalf being considered on its merits; but provisions of the Constitution of India already applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir without adaptation or modification are unalterable.

(4) With a view to assuring freedom to the State of Jammu and Kashmir to have its own legislation on matters like welfare measures, cultural matters, social security,

personal law and procedural laws, in a manner suited to the special conditions in the State, it is agreed that the State Government can review the laws made by Parliament or extended after 1953 on any matter relatable to the Concurrent List and may decide which of them, in its opinion, needs amendment or repeal. Thereafter, appropriate steps may be taken under Article 254 of the Constitution of India. The grant of President's assent to such legislation would be sympathetically considered. The same approach would be adopted in regard to laws to be made by Parliament in future under the Proviso clause 2 of the Article. The State Government shall be consulted regarding the application of any such law to the State and the views of the State Government shall receive the fullest consideration.

5. As an arrangement reciprocal to what has been provided under Article 368, a suitable modification of that Article as applied to the State should be made by Presidential order to the effect that no law made by the Legislature of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, seeking to make any change in or in the effect of any provision of Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir relating to any of the undermentioned matters, shall take effect unless the Bill having been reserved for the consideration of the President, receives his assent; the matters are —
   (a) the appointment, powers, functions, duties, privileges and immunities of the Governor, and
   (b) the following matters relating to Elections namely, superintendence direction and control of Elections by the Election Commission of India, eligibility for inclusion in the electoral rolls without discrimination, adult sufferage and composition of the Legislative Council, being matters specified in sections 138, 139, 140 and 50 of the Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

6. No agreement was possible on the question of nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister and the matter is therefore remitted to the Principals.

Miza Mohd. Afzal Beg
New Delhi, November 13, 1974.

G. Parthasarthi

Addendum-6

Text of Memorandum, Dated 14 August 1951, submitted by 14 Muslim leaders of India to Dr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations Representative

It is a remarkable fact that, while the Security Council and its various agencies have devoted so much time to the study of the Kashmir dispute and made various suggestions for its resolution, none of them has tried to ascertain the views of the Indian Muslims nor the possible effect of any hasty step in Kashmir, however well-intentioned, on the interests and well-being of the Indian Muslims. We are convinced that no lasting solution for the problem can be found unless the position of Muslims in Indian society is clearly understood.

Supporters of the idea of Pakistan, before this subcontinent was partitioned, discouraged any attempt to define Pakistan clearly and did little to anticipate the conflicting problems which were bound to arise as a result of the advocacy of the two-nation theory. The concept of Pakistan, therefore, became an emotional slogan with little rationale content. It never occurred to the Muslim League or its leaders that if a minority was not prepared to live with a majority on the sub-continent, how could the majority by expected to tolerate the minority.

It is, therefore, small wonder that the result of partition has been disastrous to Muslims. In undivided India, their strength lay about 100 million. Partition split up the Muslim people, confining them to the three isolated regions. Thus, Muslims number 25 million in Western Pakistan, 35 million to 40 million in India, and the rest in Eastern Pakistan. A single

undivided community has been broken into three fragments, each faced with its own problems.

Pakistan was not created on a religious basis. If it had been, our fate as well as the fate of other minorities would have been settled at that time. Nor would the division of the sub-continent for reasons of religion have left large minorities in India or Pakistan.

This merely illustrates what we have said above, that the concept of Pakistan was vague, obscure, and never clearly defined, nor its likely consequences foreseen by the Muslim League, even when some of these should have been obvious.

When the partition took place, Muslims in India were left in the lurch by the Muslim League and its leaders. Most of them departed to Pakistan and a few who stayed behind stayed long enough to wind up their affairs and dispose of their property. Those who went over to Pakistan left a large number of relations and friends behind.

Having brought about a division of the country, Pakistan leaders proclaimed that they would convert Pakistan into a land where people would live a life according to the tenets of Islam. This created nervousness and alarm among the minorities living in Pakistan. Not satisfied with this, Pakistan went further and announced again and again their determination to protect and safeguard the interests of Muslims in India. This naturally aroused suspicion amongst the Hindus against us and our loyalty to India was questioned.

Pakistan had made our position weaker by driving out Hindus from Western Pakistan in utter disregard of the consequences of such a policy to us and our welfare. A similar process is in question in Eastern Pakistan from which Hindus are coming over to India in a large and large number.

If the Hindus are not welcome in Pakistan, how can we, in all fairness, expect Muslims to be welcomed in India ? Such a policy must inevitably, as the past has already shown, result in the uprooting of Muslims in this country and their migration to Pakistan, where, as it became clear last year, they are no longer welcome, lest their influx should destroy Pakistan's economy.

Neither some of the Muslims who did migrate to Pakistan after partition, and following the widespread bloodshed and conflict on both sides of the Indo-Pakistan border in the north-west, have been able to find a happy asylum in what they had been told would be their homeland. Consequently some of them have had to return to India, e.g. Meos who are now being rehabilitated in their former areas.

If we are living honorably in India today, it is certainly not due to Pakistan which, if anything, has by her policy and action weakened our position.

The credit goes to the broadminded leadership of India, to Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to the traditions of tolerance in this country and to the Constitution which ensures equal rights to all citizens of India, irrespective of their religion caste, creed, colour or sex.

We, therefore, feel that, tragically as Muslims were misled by the Muslim League and subsquently by Pakistan and the unnecessary suffering which we and our Hindu brethren have to go through in Pakistan and in India since partition, we must be given an opportunity to settle down to a life of tolerance and understanding to the mutual benefit of Hindus and Muslims in our country — if only Pakistan would let us do it. To us it is a matter of no small consequence.

Despite continuous provocations, first from the Muslim League and since then from Pakistan, the Hindu majority in India has not thrown us or members of other minorities out of Civil Services, Armed Forces, the judiciary, trade, commerce, business and industry. There are Muslim Ministers in the Union and State cabinets, Muslim Governors, Muslim Ambassadors, representing India in foreign countries, fully enjoying the confidence of the Indian nation, Muslim members in Parliament and state legislatures, Muslim judges serving on the Supreme Court and High Courts, high-ranking officers in the Armed Forces and the Civil services, including the police. Muslims have large landed estates, run big business and commercial houses in various parts of the country, notably in Bombay and Calcutta, have their shares in industrial production and enterprise in export and import trade. Our famous

sacred shrines and places of cultural interest are mostly in India.

Not that our lot is certainly happy. We wish some of the state Governments showed a little greater sympathy to us in the field of education and employment. Nevertheless, we feel we have an honourable place in India. Under the law of the land, our religious and cultural life is protected and we shall share in the opportunities open to all citizens to ensure progress for the people of this country.

It is, therefore, clear that our interest and welfare do not coincide with Pakistan's conception of the welfare and interests of Muslims in Pakistan.

This is clear from Pakistan's attitude towards Kashmir. Pakistan claims Kashmir, first, on the ground of the majority of the State's people being Muslims and, secondly, on the ground, of the state being essential to its economy and defence. To achieve its objective it has been threatening to launch "Jehad" against Kashmir in India.

It is a strange commentary on political beliefs that the same Muslims of Pakistan who like the Muslims of Kashmir to join them invaded the state, in October 1947, killing and plundering Muslims in the state and dishonouring Muslim women, all in the interest of what they described as the liberation of Muslims of the State. In its oft-proclaimed anxiety to rescue the 3 million Muslims from what it describes as the tyranny of a handful of Hindus in the State, Pakistan evidently is prepared to sacrifice the interests of 40 million Muslims in India—a strange exhibition of concern for the welfare of fellow-Muslims. Our misguided brothers in Pakistan do not realise that if Muslims in Pakistan can wage a war against Hindus in Kashmir why should not Hindus, sooner or later, retaliate against Muslims in India.

Does Pakistan seriously think that it could give us any help if such an emergency arose or that we would deserve any help thanks to its own follies ? It is incapable of providing room and livelihood to the 40 million Muslims of India, should they migrate to Pakistan. Yet its policy and action, if not changed soon, may well produce the result which it dreads.

We are convinced that India will never attack our interests. First of all, it would be contrary to the spirit animating the political movement in this country. Secondly, it would be opposed to the Constitution and to the sincere leadership of the Prime Minister. Thirdly, India by committing such a folly would be playing straight into the hands of Pakistan.

We wish we were equally convinced of the soundness of Pakistan's policy. So completely oblivious is it of our present problems and of our future that it is willing to sell us into slavery—if only it can secure Kashmir.

It ignores the fact that Muslims in Kashmir may also have a point of view of their own, that there is a democratic movement with a democratic leadership in the State, both inspired by the progress of a broad minded, secular, democratic movement in India and both naturally being in sympathy with India. Otherwise, the Muslim raiders should have been welcomed with open arms by the Muslims of the State when the invasion took place in 1947.

Persistent propaganda about "Jehad" is intended, among other things, to inflame religious passions in this country. For it would, of course, be in Pakistan's interests to promote communal rioting in India to show to Kashmiri Muslims how they can find security only in Pakistan. Such a policy, however, can only bring untold misery and suffering to India and Pakistan generally and to Indian Muslims particularly.

Pakistan never tires of asserting that it is determined to protect the interests of Muslims in Kashmir and India. Why does not Pakistan express the same concern for Pathans who are fighting for Pakhtoonistan, an independent homeland of their own ? The freedom-loving Pathans under the leadership of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, both nurtured in the traditions of democratic tolerance of the Indian National Congress, are being subjected to political repression of the worst possible kind by their Muslim brethren in power in Pakistan and in the NWFP. Contradictory as Pakistan's policy generally is, it is no surprise to us that while it insists on a fair and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir, it denies a fair and impartial plebiscite to Pathans.

Pakistan's policy in general and her attitude towards Kashmir is particular thus tend to create conditions in this country which in the long run can only bring to us Muslims widespread suffering and destruction. Its policy prevents us from settling down, from being honourable citizens of a State, free from suspicion of our fellow-countrymen and adapting ourselves to changing conditions to promote the interests and welfare of India. Its sabre-rattling interferes with its own economy and ours. It expects us to be loyal to it despite its importence to give us any protection, believing at the same time that we can still claim all the rights of citizenship in a secular democracy.

In the event of a war, it is extremely doubtful whether it will be able to protect the Muslims of East Bengal who are completely cut off from Western Pakistan. Are the Muslims of India and Eastern Pakistan who sacrifice themselves completely to enable the 25 million Muslims in Western Pakistan to embark upon mad, self-destructive and adventures?

We should, therefore, like to impress upon you with all the emphasis at our command that Pakistan's policy towards Kashmir is fraught with the gravest peril to the 40 million Muslims of India. If the Security Council is really interested in peace human brotherhood, and international understanding, it should heed this warning while there is still time.

Dr Zakir Hussain
(Vice Chancellor Aligarh University)

Sir Sultan Ahmed
(Former Member of Governor
General's Executive Council)
Sir Mohd. Ahmed Syed Khan
(Nawab of Chhatari, former acting
Governor of United Provinces and
Prime Minister of Hyderabad)

Sir Mohd. Usman
(Former member of Governor
General's Executive council and
acting
Governor of Madras)

Sir Iqbal Ahmed
(Former Chief Justice of Allahabad
High Court)

Sir Fazal Rahimtoola
(Former Sheriff of Bombay)

Maulana Hafz-ur-Rehman M.P
Col. B.H. Zaidi M.P.
Nawab Zain Yar Jung
(Minister Government of
Hyderabad)

A.K. Kawaja
(Former President of Muslim Majlis)

T.M. Zarif
(General Secretary West Bengal
Bohra Community)

Addendum-7

Letter written by a former Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Jagmohan, to the Former Prime Minister and the President Congress, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, on April 21, 1990.

Dear Shri Rajiv Gandhi,

You have virtually forced me to write this open letter to you. For, all along, I have persistently tried to keep myself away from party politics and to use whatever little talent and energy I might have to do some creative and constructive work, as was done recently in regard to the management and improvement of Mata Vaishno Devi shrine complex and to help in bringing about a sort of cultural renaissance without which our fast decaying institutions cannot be nursed back to health. At the moment, the nobler purposes of these institutions, be they in the sphere of executive, legislature or judiciary etc., have been sapped and the soul of justice and truth sucked out of them by the politics of expediency.

You and your friends like Dr. Farooq Abdullah are, however, bent upon painting a false picture before the nation in regard to Kashmir. Your senior party men like Shiv Shankar and N.K.P. Salve have, apparently at your behest, been using the forum of the Parliament for building an atmosphere of prejudice against me. The former raked up a fourteen-year old incident of Turkman Gate and the latter a press interview an interview that I never gave to hurl a barrage of accusations of communalism against my person. Mani Shankar Iyer, too, has been dipping his poisonous darts in the columns of some magazines. I, however, chose to suffer in silence all the slings and arrows of this outrageous armoury of disinformations. Only rarely did I try to correct gross distortions by sending

letters to the editors of newspapers and magazines. My intentions was to remain content with a book, an academic and historic venture which, I believed, I owed to the nation and to history.

But the other day some friends showed to me press clippings of your comments in the election meetings in Rajasthan.

That, I thought, was the limit. I realised that, unless I checked your intentional distortions, you would spread false impression about me throughout the country during the course of your election campaign.

WARNING SIGNALS : Need I remind you that from the beginning of 1988, I had started sending "Warning Signals" to you about the gathering storm in Kashmir ? But you and the power wielders around you had neither the time, nor the inclination, nor the vision, to see these signals. They were so clear, so pointed, that to ignore them was to commit sins of true historical proportions.

To recapitulate and to serve as illustrations, I would refer to a few of these signals. In August 1988, after analysing the current and undercurrents, I had summed up the position thus : "The drum-beater of parochialism and fundamentalism are working overtime. Subversion is on the increase. The shadows of events from across the border are lengthening. Lethal weapons have come in. More may be on the way". In April 1989, I had desperately pleaded for immediate action I said : "The situation is fast deteriorating. It has almost reached a point of no return. For the last five days, there have been large-scale violence, arson, firing, hartals, casualties and what not. Things have truly fallen apart. Talking of the Irish crisis, British Prime Minister Disraeli had said : "It is potatoes one day and Pope the next". Similar is the present position in Kashmir. Yesterday, it Maqbool Bhat; today it is Satanic Verses; Tomorrow it will be repression day and the day after it will be something else. The Chief Minister stands isolated. He has already fallen-politically as ·ll as administratively; perhaps, only constitutional rites remain to be performed. His clutches are too soiled and rickety to support him. Personal aberrations have also eroded his public standing. The situation calls for

effective intervention. Today may be timely, tomorrow may be too late". Again, in May, I expressed my growing anxiety : "What is still more worrying is that every victory of subversionists is swelling their ranks, and the animosity is being diverted against the central authorities". But you chose not to do anything. Your inaction was mistifying. Equallymistifying was your reaction to my appointment for the second term. How could I suddenly become communal, anti-muslim and what not ?

When I resigned in July 1989, there was no rancour. You wanted me to fight, as your party candidate, election for the South Delhi Lok Sabha seat. Since I had general revolusion for the type of politics which out country had, by and large, come to breed, I declined the offer. If you had any serious reservation about my accepting the offer of Jand K Governorship for the second term, you could have adopted the straight forward course and apprised me of your views. I would have thought twice before going into a situation which had virtually reached a point of no return. There would have been no need for you to resort to false accusations.

May be you do not consider truth and consistency as virtues. May be you believe that the words inscribed on our national emblem—Satyameva Jayate- are mere words without meaning and significance for motivating the nation to proceed in the right direction and build a true and just India by true and just means. Perhaps power is all that matters to you—power by whichever means and at whatever cost.

REALITY : In regard to the conditions prevailing before and after my arrival on the scene, you and your collaborators have been perverting reality. The truth is that before the imposition of Governor's rule on January 19, 1990, there was a total mental surrender. Even prior to the day (December 8, 1989) of Dr. Rubaiye Sayeed's kidnapping, when the eagle of terrorism swooped the state with full fury, 1600 violent incidents, including 351 bomb blasts had taken place in eleven months. Then between January 1 and January 19, 1990, there were as many as 319 violent acts—21 armed attacks, 114 bomb blasts, 112 arsons, and 72 incidents of mob violence.

You, perhaps, never cared to know that all the components of the power structure had been virtually taken over by the subversives. For example, when Shabir Ahmed Shah was arrested in September 1989, on the Intelligence Bureau's tip-off, Srinagar Deputy Commissioner flatly refused to sign the warrant of detention. Anantnag Deputy Commissioner adopted the same attitude. The Advocate-General did not appear before the Court to represent the state case. He tried to pass on the responsibility to the Additional Advocate General and the Government council. They, too, did not appear.

Do you not remember what happened on the day of Lok Sabha poll in November 22, 1989 ? In a translating gesture, TV sets were placed near some of the polling booths with placards reading "anyone who will cast his vote will get this". No one in the administration of Dr. Farooq Abdullah took any step to remove such symbols of defiance if authority.

Let me remind you that Sopore is the hometown of Gulam Rasool Kar, who was at that time a Cabinet Minister in the State Government. It is also the hometown of the Chairman of the Legislative Council, Habibullah, and also of the former National Conference MP and Cabinet Minister, Abdul Shah Vakil. Yet only five votes were cast in Sopore town. In Pattan, an area supposedly under the influence of Liftikar Hussain Ansari, the then Congress (I) Minister, not a single vote was cast. Such was the commitment and standing of your leaders and collaborators in the State.

And you still thought that subversion and terrorism could be fought with such political and administrative intruments.

Around that point of time, when the police set-up was getting rapidly demoralised, when intelligence was fast drying up, when inflitration in services was bringing stories of subversives plan like TOPAC, your protage, Dr. Farooq Abdullah was either going abroad or releasing 70, hardcore and highly motivated torrosists who were trained in the handling of dangerous weapons, who had contacts at the highest level in Pakistan occupied Kashmir, who knew all the devious routes of going to and returning from Pakistan and whose detention had been approved by the three member advisory board presided

over by the Chief Justice. Their simultaneous release enabled them to occupy key positions in the network of subversion and terrorism and to complete the chain which took them again to Pakistan to bring arms to indulge in killings and kidnappings and other acts of terrorism. For example, one of the released persons, Mohd. Daud Khan of Ganderbal, became the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of a terrorist outfit, Al-Bakar, and took a leading part in organising a force of 2,500 Kashmiri Youths. Who is to be blamed for all the heinous crimes subsequetly committed by these released 70, terrorists ? I would leave this question answered by the people to whom you are talking about the "Jagmohan Factor".

The truth, supported by preponderence of evidence, is that before January 19, 1990, the terrorist had become the real ruler. The ground had been yielded to him to such an extent that he dominated the public mind. He could virtually swim like a fish in the sea. Would it matter if the sea was subsequently surrounded ?

LABELLING ANTI-MUSLIM : In your attempt to hide all your sins of omission and commission in Kashmir and as a part of your small politics which can not go beyond dividing people and creating vote banks, you took special pains to demolish all regards and respects which the Kashmiri mases, including the Muslim youth, had developed for me during my first term from April 26, 1984, to July 12, 1989. Against all facts, unassailable evidence, and your own precious pronouncements, you started me labelling me as anti-Muslim.

May I, in this connection, also invite your attention to three of the important suggestions made in my book, Rebuilding Shahjahanabad : The Walled City of Delhi. One pertained to the creation of the green velvet between Jama Masjid and Red Fort; the second to the construction of a road linking Parliament House with the Jama Masjid complex, and the third to the setting up of a second Shahajhanabad in the Mata Sundari road-Minto road complex, reflecting the synthetic culture of the city, its traditional as well as its modern texture. Could such suggestions I ask you, come of an anti-Muslim mind ?

FORUM OF PARLIAMENT : How you and your associates use the forum of Parliament undermine my standing amongst the Kashmiri Muslims, was evident from what N.K.P. Salve, MP ?, did in the Rajya Sabha on May 25, 1990.

Referring to the so called interview to the Bombay Weekly, THE CURRENT — an interview which I never gave - Salve chose wholly unjustified expressions; "There was a patent and palpable attitude if very disconcerting communal bias and, therefore, he (Governor) was happy under the garb of eliminating the terrorist, the saboteurs and the culprits, in eliminating the whole community as it were ; now the Governor has himself given profuse and unabashed vent to his malicious malignity, hate and extreme dislike, branding every member of a particular community as a militant".

I know Salve. I do not think, if left to himself, he would have done what he did. Clearly, he was goaded to say something which was against his training and background. But the elementary precaution which any jurist, atleast a jurist of Salve's imminence, would have taken, was to first check up whether any such interview weekly had been given by me, and if so, whether the remarks attributed to me were actually made. The unseemly haste was itself revealing. The issue was raised on May 25, while the weekly was dated May 26—June 2, 1990. You yourself rushed a let to the President on May 25, on the basis of the interview that in reality did not exist. You explained that V.P. Singh had appointed a person with "Rabid Communalist Opinion as Governor". You also got your letter widely published on May 25 itself.

Since your party men did not allow me to have my say in the Rajya Sabha, even when an opportunity came my way to speak on the subject, I was left with no other option but to file a 20 Lakhs damage suit against the Current Weekly in the Delhi High Court. The case may take a long time and I may donate the damages, if and when awarded, to charity, but I intend sparing no effort to expose all those who have played dirty roles in the disinformation-drama.

ARTICLE-370 : You created a scene on March 7, 1990, at the time of the visit of the All Party Committee to Srinagar, and

made it a point to convey to the people in 1986 I wanted to have Article 370 abrogated. At that critical juncture, when I was fighting the forces of terrorism with my back to the wall beginning to turn the corner after frustrating the sinister designs of the subversives from January 26, 1990 onwards, you thought it appropriate to cause hostility against me by tearing the facts out of context. Whether this act of yours was responsible or irresponsible, I would leave to the nation to decide.

What I had really pointed out in August-September 1986 was : 'Article 370 is nothing but a breeding ground for the parasites at the heart of the paradise. It skins the poor. It deceives them with its mirage. It lines the pockets of the "power elites". It fans the ego of the new sultans, in essence, it creates a land without justice, a land full of crudities and contradictions. It props up politics of deception, duplicity and demagogy. It breeds the microbes of subversion. It keeps alive the unwholesome legacy of the two-nation theory. It sufficates the very idea of India and fogs the very vision of a great social and cultural crucible from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. It could be an epicentre of a violent earth-quake, the tremors of which would be felt all over the country with unforeseen consequences.

I had argued, 'The fundamental aspect which has been lost sight of in the controversy for deletion or retention of Article 370 is its misues. Over the years, it has become an instrument of exploitation in the hands of the ruling political elites and other vested interests in bureaucracy, business, judiciary and bar. Apart from the politicians, the richer classes have found it convenient to amass wealth and not allow healthy financial legislation to come to the State. The provisions of the Wealth Tax, the Urban Land Ceiling Act, the Gift Tax etc, and other beneficial laws of the Union have not been allowed to be operated in the State under the cover of Article 370. The common people are prevented from realising that Article 370 is actually keeping them impoverished and denying them justice and also their due share in the economic advancement'.

My stand was that the poor people of Kashmir had been exploited under the protective wall of Article 370 and that the

correct position needed to be explained to them. I had made a number of suggestions in this regard and also in regard to the reform and reorganisation of the institutional framework. But all these were ignored. A great opportunity was missed.

Subsequent events have reinforced my views that Article 370 and its by product, the separate Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir must go, not only because it is legally and constitutionally feasible to do so, but also because larger and more basic considerations of our past history and contemporary life require it. The Article merely facilitates the growth and continuation of corrupt oligarchies. It puts false notions in the minds of the youth. It gives rise to regional tensions and conflicts and even the autonomy assumed to be available is not attainable in practice. The distinct personality and cultural identity of Kashmir can be safeguarded without this Article. It is socially regressive and causes situations in which women lose thier right if they marry non-State subjects and persons staying for over 44 years in the State are denied elementary human and democratic rights. And, above all, it does not fit into the reality and requirement of India and its vast and varied span. What India needs today is not petty sovereignties that would sap its spirit and aspirations and turn it into small "banana-republics" in the hands of 'tin-pot dictators', but a new social, political and cultural crucible in which values of truth and rectitude, of fairness and justice, and of compassion and catholicity, are melted, purified and moulded into a vigorous and vibrant set-up which provides real freedom, real democracy and real resurgence to all.

I must also point out that when other States in the Union ask for greater autonomy, they do not mean separation of identities. They really want decentralisation and devolution of power, so that administrative and development work is done speedily and the quality of service to the people improves. In Kashmir, the demand for retaining Article 370 with all its 'pristine purity', that is, without the alleged dilution that has taken place since 1953, stems from different motivation. It emanates from a clever strategy to remain away from the mainstream, to set up a separate fiefdom, to fly a separate flag,

to have a Prime Minister rather than a Chief Minister, and Sadr-i-Riyasat instead of a Governor, and to secure greater power and patronage, not for the good of the masses, not for serving the cause of peace and progress or for attaining unity amidst diversity, but for serving the interests of 'new elites', the 'new Sheikhs'.

All those aspiring to be the custodians of the vote-banks continue to say that Article 370 is a matter of faith. But they do not proceed further. They do not ask themselves : What does this faith mean? What is its rationale ? Would not bringing the State within the full framework of Indian Constitution give brighter lustre and sharper teeth to this faith and make it more just and meaningful ?

In a similar strain, expressions like 'historical necessity' and 'autonomy' are talked about. What do these mean in practice ? Does historical necessity mean that you include, on paper, Kashmir in the Indian Union by one hand at a huge cost and give it back, in practice, by another hand on the golden platter ? And what does autonomy or so called pre-1953 or pre-1947 position imply ? Would it not amount to the Kashmiri leadership say in : 'you will send and I will spend; you will have no say even if I build a corrupt and callous oligarchy and cause a situation in which Damocles' sword of secession could be kept hanging on your head' ?

KASHMIRI PANDITS : You and the like of you have made India a country which has lost capacity to be true and just. Anyone trying to be fair is dubbed communal. The case of the Kashmiri Pandits bears eloquent testimony to this fact.

Whatever be the vicissitudes of the Kashmiri Pandits' history and whatever unkind quirks their fate might have brought to them in the past, these all pale into insigficance in comparison to what is happening to them at present. The grim tragedy is compounded by the equally grim irony that one of the most intelligent subtle, versatile, and proud community of the country is being virtually reduced to extinction in free India. It is suffering not under the fanatic zeal of mediaeval Sultans like Sikander or under the tyrannical regime of Afghan Governors, but under the supposedly secular rule of leaders like you, V.P.

Singh and others who unabashed search for personal and political power is symbolised by calculated disregard of the Kashmiri migrants' current miserable plight and the terrible future that stares in their eyes. And to fill their cup of pain and anguish, there are bodies like 'Committee for Initiative on Kashmir' which are over-anxious and over active to rub salt into their wounds, and to label anyone who wants to stand by them in their hour of distress as communal.

In a soft, superficial, permissive and, in many ways, cruel India which has the tragic distinction of creating over one lakh refugees from its own flesh and blood and then casting them aside like masterless cattle to fend for themselves on the busy and heartless avenues of soulless cities, chances for Kashmiri Pandits to survive as a distinct community are next to nothing. Split, scattored and deserted practically by all, they stand today all alone, looking hopelessly at a leaking, rudderless, boat at their feat and extremely rough and tumultuous sea to face before they can reach a safe shore across to plant their feet firmly on an assured future.

The deep crisis through which the Kashmiri migrants, or for that matter, the entire Kashmir, is passing is really the crisis of Indian values—the perversion, in practice, of its constitutional, political, social and moral norms. If I visited the camps of the refugees and tried to extend the firm hand of justice to a community in pain, if I instructed that, instead of cash doles, the migrant Government servants should be given leave salary, and if I conceded the demand of a widow of the person brutally killed by a terrorist, for allotment of a house on payment, I became communal, a known anti-Muslim, about whom concoted stories were planted in the press. If, on the other hand, someone falsely accused the Indian Army and the Governor's administration, if he assailed Jagmohan in particular, of giving inducements through provisions of plots and trucks, without giving particulars either of plots or of trucks, his accusations got published all over the press, his reports were flaunted in national and international forums and were copiously quoted in Parliament by the members of your party and he was labelled as secular and progressive and champion

of human rights and what not. Hard Evidence about 'Jagmohan Factor'. I do not like to refer to anything that looks like indulging in self-praise. But not to let you get away with your calculated campaign of disinformation, about Jagmohan/communal factor, I must invite attention to some hard evidence about what the people of the Valley actually thought about me before you and your proteges started the smear campaign on my appointment for the second term.

Your principal prop of current politics of Kashmir, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, was not to be left behind in the drive launched to create an 'anti-Muslim' image of mine. In his interview published in the Times of India of August 30, 1990, he said, "A known anti-Muslim was appointed as Governor of a Muslim majority state". How untrue, how unfair, was the propaganda, should be obvious from the fact that on November 7, 1986, at the time of his swearing-in-ceremony, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, in a public speech for which the records exist, said : "Governor Sahib, we should need you very badly. It is, indeed, amazing that such remarkable work could be done by you in a short time through an imbecile and faction-ridden bureaucracy. If today three ballot boxes are kept - one for the National Conference, one for the Congress and one for you, your ballot box would be full while the other two ballot boxes would be empty".

The misfortune of our country is that we have leaders like Dr. Farooq Abdullah who have no regard for facts or truth and whose superficiality is matched only by their unprincipled politics.

Incidentally, did it not strike you that Dr. Farooq was virtually accusing your late mother of being anti-Muslim because she was the Prime Minister when, in April 1984, a 'known anti-Muslims' was appointed for the first term, as 'Governor of a Muslim majority State"?

Apparently in consultation with you, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, on February 15, 1990, issued a written statement to the press in Urdu in which he inter alia, said, "The Governor, in the

personification of 'Hallaqu' and 'Changez Khan', is bent upon converting the valley into a vast graveyard. On account of continuous curfew since January 20, it is difficult to say how many hundreds of people have become victim of the bullets of the army and paramilitary forces, and in this general slaughter how many hundreds of houses have been destroyed. At this moment, when Kashmiris are witnessing their beloved country being converted into a vast graveyard. I appeal to the national and international upholders of humanity to intervene in Kashmir and have an international inquiry made into the general slaughter of Kashmiris at the hands of army and paramilitary forces".

Here is your 'patriot' calling Kashmir "Aziz Wattan", suggesting a separate country. Here is your 'national leader' asking for an international inquiry into the general slaughter of the Kashmiris by the Indian Army and paramilitary forces. Here is your 'responsible friend' speaking about the continuous curfew for 25 days in the valley and his consequent inability to find out many 'hundreds of innocent and unarmed Kashmiris' had been massacred and how many hundreds of Kashmiri houses razed to the ground, although he knew perfectly well that there had been a number of days when there was no day-curfew, partially or wholly, and the authorities had brought out the list of casualties, about 40 upto February 16, and were daily asking the public to provide with the additional names, if they had any, so that correction in the official list could be made. Here is an erstwhile Chief Minister who did not care to explain how 'innocent and unarmed' people were ruthlessly shooting down IAF officers, BSF jawans, senior officers of the Television and Telecommunications Department and young men in the streets; and how, while inciting people through lengthy and fiery statements, he did not find a single word to condemn such brutal murders.

Is the nation not entitled to know why you have not disowned such unfortunate behaviour on the part of Dr. Farooq Abdullah? And how do you account for his recent statement as published in The Times of India of February 7, 1991: 'I directed

my partymen to lie low, go across the border, get training in arms handling; do anything but not get caught by Jagmohan' ?

Stabbing me in the back at personal level, perhaps, did not matter. But by keeping the pot boiling, you your proteges prolonged the agony of Kashmir and caused many more deaths and much more destruction. The politics of unscrupulousness was brought to its lowest depth.

ROOTS : You once said, 'I do not read history; I make history'. Apparently, you do not know that those who happen to make history without read in it, usually make bad history. They cannot understand the undercurrents and the fundamental forces that really shape the course of events and determine the ultimate destiny of a nation.

In the absence of historical perspective, you and the like of you never perceived the roots and tendrils which gave rise to the current crop of separatism and subversion in Kashmir. Poisonous seeds were persistently planted in the Kashmir psyche. And these were liberally fertilised. Those of you whose obligation it was to stop these plantations and their fertilisation, were not aware of even the elementary lesson of history; to compromise with the evil was only to rear greater evil; to ignore the inconvenient reality was only to compound it; to bow before the bully was only to invite the butcher the next day.

I could cite scores of cases to support my contention. Here I would restrict myself to only two examples.

Softness and surrender. On October 2, 1988, Mahatam Gandhi's birthday his statue was to be installed in the new High Court complex at Srinagar. The function had been announced. The Chief Justice of India, R.S. Pathak, was to do the formal installation. But a few Muslim lawyers objected. They threatened to cause disturbance at the time of the function. The Chief Minister gave in, almost willingly, to the bullying tactics. The function was cancelled.

What are the implications of what happened ? A secular Kashmir, part of a secular India, could not have, even in its highest seat of justice, a statue of the Father of the Nation, of a sage, who laid down his life for communal harmony. Who was

the person spearheading the move against the installation ? It was none other than Mohd. Shafi Bhat, an advocate of the J and K High Court and an active number of the National Conference, who was later on given party ticket for Srinagar Lok Sabha seat in the elections held in November 1989 and with whom you kept warm company during your visit to Srinagar on March 7, 1990, to create as many difficulties as possible for Governor's administration.

At that time there was National Conference (F)—Congress (I) Ministry in office. Such was its lack of adherence to principles, such was the character of Congressmen who formed part of the Ministry and such was its disposition to cling to power that not even a little finger was raised when the function was cancelled.

The bully's appetite could not have been whetted better. Intimidation could not have secured better results. The trouble-makers could not have perceived a more casual and non-committed adversary. Was it not natural for them to nurture higher ambitions and think that more spectacular results could be achieved by deploying a more aggressive and threatening strategy ? Only a naive would believe that in the context of the Kashmir situation, softness and surrender on basic principles would not act as an invitation to terrorism and militancy.

The Union Government enacted the Religious Institutions (Prevention of Misuse) Act, 1988. It was made applicable to all the States of the Union except J and K. Because of Article 370, concurrence of the State Government was needed for extension of this law to the State. But the same was not given. Why ? Because J and K is different what an argument for having a law which aimed at eradication of misuse of religious premises for political purposes.

Nowhere was this law needed more than in the State of J and K. Nowhere were religious places misused more than here. Nowhere were seeds of fanaticism and fundamentalism sown every Friday more assiduoulsy than from the pulpits of the mosques here. Nowhere was it preached more regularly than here that Indian democracy was un-Islamic, Indian secularism was un-Islamic and Indian socialism was un-Islamic. And yet,

neither the State Government which was ruled by two supposedly secular parties, nor the Union Government took the matter seriously. What intrigued the most was that the law which was considered good for 100 million Muslims in other parts of India, was not considered good for 40 lakh Muslims of Kashmir.

What was the use of the nationalist forces ruling the country when they would not act in national interest at all; when they remained mental slaves of the politics of communalism; when they were inclined to place reliance on words and not on deeds; when they did not lead, but succumbed; when they encouraged, and not defeated, separatist elements; when, instead of building a new society strong in human and spiritual values, they did everything, wittingly or unwittingly, to repair, renovate and strengthen the old decaying and smelly sitadel of obscurantism; and when they invariably gave precedence to expediency over the basic goals and principles of our Constitution ? What could be the result of all this ? Did it require any unusual insight to understand where such spurious forces would take us ?

I leave it to the well-wishers of the nation to consider, without any political or personal bias, a basic question. How was it that Dr. Farooq was calling me Hallaqu and Changez Khan, and you were travelling all the way to Srinagar to 'expose' me as anti-Article 370, anti-Kashmiri and anti-Muslim and, at the same time, Miss Benazir Bhutto was vowing to tear me to pieces - 'Jagmohan ko Bhag-Bhag Mohan Kar Denge' ?

There are many other facets of Kashmir's truth which lie buried underneath the heaps of disinformation and also of superficiality and shallowness. These days I am busy in an attempt to remove some of these heaps. One day, I hope, the country will acquire the true perspective of the problem. The Kashmiri masses would also realise that I was their greatest well-wisher. I wanted to save them permanently from the exploitative oligarches and also from the machinations of religious 'Czars' and forces of obscurantism.

You have already committed the sin of letting down the Bharat Mata in Kashmir. Now do not add to it another sin of

letting down the other Mata also. There is, after all, some power above. Conscious of her. She may condone your negligence. But she would not condone your sin of blaming an innocent person for what were your own faults, particularly when he had been persistently reminding you of your obligations.

So far as I am concerned, I am content with my gloomy pride of having done the correct thing in Kashmir. True, I seemingly and, perhaps, temporarily, lost the goodwill of some of the locals. But I was not seeking a certificate from anyone. I had gone for the second term to do a national duty.

The country's polity and administration have assumed such a character that it has become incapable of solving from its roots, any serious problem. Elections have virtually lost all meaning. And these would continue to be meaningless until and unless Indian democracy and its constitutional structure acquires a healthy cultural base, a pure soul and soil, from which the seed of justice, truth and selfless service could sprout and blossom into a Great Tree providing shade and shelter from Kanyakumari to Kashmir. Currently, the inner light is gone, and we are being led virtually by blind men with lanterns in their hands. We stumble from one crisis to another. As a poet says:

It has happened
and it goes on happening
and it will happen again.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jagmohan.

Historical Chronology of Jammu and Kashmir State

App. 3000 B.C.:	Kashmir clan is named in Mahabharata.
2629-2564 B.C.:	Rule by King Sandiman.
2082-2041 B.C.:	Rule by King Sunder Sen rules Kashmir.
1048-1008 B.C.:	King Nara rules Kashmir.
250 B.C.:	Shrinagari (today's Srinagar is located about three miles from Shrinagari) near the ancient capital Pandhrenatha is founded by Ashoka the Great.
7th century:	King Lalitaditya builds the famous Sun temple and formed the city of Pharihaspura.
813-850:	Pampore was founded by Padma, during the rule of King Ajatapida
855-883:	King Avantivarman builds the town of Avantipur and the famous Sun temple.
883-902:	King Shankaravarman builds Shankarapura-pattan (now known as Pattan).
1128-1149:	Reign of King Jayasim.
mid-12th:	Muslim invasion of Kashmir.
1322	Turks, under ferocious Zulkadur Khan first invade Kashmir.
1394-1416:	Central Asian ruler, Sikander invades Kashmir and brings about mass conversion to Islam. After the tyranny of Sikander was over, only eleven Kashmiri Hindu families survive.
1540:	Mirz Haidar, a relative of Humayun (of the Moghul invader dynasty) conquers Kashmir. Kashmir gradually absorbed into Moghul Empire.

1810-1820:	Maharajah Ranjit Singh, one of the greatest rulers of India, regains Jammu and appointed his Dogra feudatory Gulab Singh to rule the State.
Mar 16, 1846:	The present State is created by a treaty between the British East India Company acting on behalf of the British Government and Maharajah Gulab Singh in Amritsar.
1931:	One of the worst communal riots led by Sheikh Abdullah and his Muslim Conference.
1939:	Muslim Conference becomes the National Conference.
Aug 15, 1947:	India gains independence. The ruler of Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh yet to make up his mind regarding accession.
Oct 22, 1947:	Pakistan violates the Standstill Agreement by preventing essential supplies to the State, then hoards of armed Pakistani tribesman entered Kashmir.
Oct 26, 1947:	Hari Singh signs the instrument of accession, it is no different than the one signed by over 500 other rulers. The accession of Kashmir was accepted by the Governor General of India Lord Mountbatten.
Oct 27, 1947:	The first Indian forces arrived in Kashmir to defend against Pakistani troops.
Dec 31, 1947:	A highly unconstitutional offer of plebiscite was made by Prime Minister Nehru in the U.N.
Jan 1, 1948:	India under Nehru declares a unilateral cease-fire and under Article 35 of the U.N.Charter, India files a complaint with the U.N.Se ·ity Council. Pakistan still controls 2/5 of the State.
Jan 20, 1948:	The U.N. Security Council in its resolution of establishes the United Nations

	Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP).
Jul 1948:	Mohd. Zafrulla Khan, then the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and principal Delegate of Pakistan in the U.N. admits to the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan that the Pakistani Army had been in Kashmir.
Aug 13, 1948:	UNCIP adopts a resolution on Kashmir accepted by both India and Pakistan. Pakistan is blamed for the invasion of Kashmir and is instructed to withdraw its forces from Kashmir.
Jan 1, 1949:	Amidst great tension, one minute before midnight, India and Pakistan concluded a formal cease fire agreement.
Jan 5, 1949:	Almost a year after Nehur's offer of plebiscite, the UNCIP passes a resolution that states that, "The question of accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of free and impartial plebiscite". However, Pakistan has yet to comply with the earlier resolution and withdraw from the State. Also, Pakistan is now busy changing the demographic composition of the State.
1949:	Not withstanding the opposition by several authors of the Indian Constitution, including Dr. Ambedkar, its chief architect, Article 370 was inserted in the constitution of India. This article is meant as a temporary measure, to be in effect until the formal constitution of Jammu and Kashmir is drafted.
Jun 1948:	Sheikh Abdullah declares, "We the people of Jammu and Kashmir, have thrown our lot with Indian people not in the heat of

	passion or a moment of despair, but by a deliberate choice. The union of our people has been fused by the community of ideals and common sufferings in the cause of freedom".
1949:	Following the cabinet decision taken by the Abdullah Government, Hari Singh steps down. Hari Singh's son, Karan Singh is named his successor.
Apr 1950	UN Security Council appoints Sir Owen Dixon as the UN representative in place of UNCIP to find expeditious and enduring solution to the India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir.
Oct 1950:	General Council of the National Conference demands elections to create a Constituent Assembly.
Sep 1951:	Elections for the Constituent Assembly are held The National Conference wins all 45 seats unopposed.
Oct 1951:	Constituent Assembly of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is inaugurated.
Nov 5, 1951:	The Constituent Assembly is given four tasks by Sheikh Abdullah which including the accession to India.
Nov-Dec 1951:	Karan Singh steps down as the ruler, and is elected by the Constituent Assembly of the Jammu and Kashmir State as Sardar-i-Riyasat (Governor).
1952:	Jana Sangh begins campaign called "Ek Vidhan Ek Pradhan" (One Constitution, one leader) and demands that the State of Jammu and Kashmir be totally integrated into India and that the people from the other States be able to visit Jammu and Kashmir without a passport.
1952:	Jana Sang leader Shyamaprasad Mukherjee dies in a Kashmiri Jail under

	mysterious circumstances.
Aug 9, 1953:	Sheikh Abdullah is arrested. He had turned corrupt and autocrat. He tried to hold India for ransom by giving increasingly anti-India speeches and p eserve his power.
Feb 1954:	Under the leadership of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED Constituent Assembly of the State of Jammu and Kashmir ratified the State's accession to India.
May 14, 1954:	The President of India promulgates the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order placing on a final footing the applicability of the other provisions of the Indian Constitution to Jammu and Kashmir.
1956:	Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act 1956, the category of Part B State was aboilished and Jammu and Kashmir was included as one of the States of India under Article I. However, Article 370 of the Indian constitution is still retained.
Jan 26, 1957:	After the formal inauguration of its constitution, the Constituent Assembly dissolves itself.
1958:	All-India services extended to J and K through an amendment in Article 312.
1964:	Sheikh Abdullah released from the prison.
1965:	Pakistan attacks India, in operation code named, Gibraltar. The defeat of Pakistan results in the Tashkant Agreement between the two countries.
Mar 30, 1965:	Article 249 of Indian Constitution extended to Jammu and Kashmir whereby the center could legislate on any matter enumerated in state list (just like in any other State in the Union). Designations

like Prime Minister and President of the State are replace by Chief Minister and Governor.

1971: Pakistani attack on India results in the third war between the two countries. Pakistan is completely defeated, over 90,000 of its men surrendered.

1972: India and Pakistan sign the Shimla Pact. Two agree to respect the line of control until the issue is finally resolved.

Feb 24-25, 1975: Following an accord signed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah on February 24, 1975, Jammu and Kashmir is made a "Constituent Unit" of India on February 25, 1975. Through this accord, Indian Parliament reaffirms its right to legislate on any matter concerning the territory of the State.

1977: National Conference wins the first post-Emergency elctions.

1982: Sheikh Abdullah nominates his son, Farooq Abdullah as his successor setting up a political rivalry between Farooq Abdullah and his brother-in-law G. M. Shah.

1986: In one of the most shameful acts of religious massacre, several ancient historical Hindu temples are destroyed and scores of Hindus were killed in the city of Anantnag. Chief Minister G. M. Shah looses power to his brother-in-law Farooq Abdullah.

1990-1991: In a spate of terrorist violence, 2400 people have died so far, and 300,000 people have been driven out of their homes. Pakistan's involvement in this carnage of violence is beyond doubt.

KASHMIR

Points to Ponder

- Over 5000 years of recorded history indicates that Kashmir has been an integral part of India.
- Maharajah Ranjit Singh, freed Kashmir from brutal central Asian invaders who occupied it since 13th century.
- Present Jammu and Kashmir State became a British protectorate in 1846.
- Kashmir was attacked and looted by the Pakistani army in October 1947, several thousand innocent Kashmiris died in that aggression. In spite of several U.N. resolutions, today 2/5 of Kashmir remains Pakistani Occupied Territory.
- On October 26, 1947, the ruler of Kashmir and the people of Kashmir, REQUESTED Kashmir's accession to India. Just like 560 other principalities this accession to India was full, final, unconditional and irrevocable.
- According to U.N. resolutions of 1948, the precondition for plebiscite in Kashmir was immediate withdrawal of invading Pakistani troops from Jammu and Kashmir, a condition, Pakistan has yet to fulfil. In addition, Pakistan has now dramatically altered the demographic composition of the State.
- A DEMOCRATICALLY elected Constituent Assembly, unanimously reaffirmed the accession of Kashmir to India in 1954.
- Since 1947, Pakistan has initiated three wars against India and decisively lost all of them.
- Recently, after its biggest military exercise, code named, Strike of the True Believer, Pakistan's army Chief Gen. Beg said that Pakistan's defence policy has now been transformed from defensive to offensive defense.
- India is a secular democracy. The terrorists claim in Kashmir, for accession to Pakistan is based on religious fundamentalism alone.

- While in the U.S., Amanullah Khan, the leader of terrorists organization JKLF advocated kidnapping, murder, and rape of the hostages. After two press conferences he was expelled by the State Department.
- More than 300,000 Kashmiri Hindus/Sikhs have been rendered homeless because of the terrorism. They now live in refugee camps in Jammu and New Delhi.
- Over 2400 people of all religious persuasion have been brutally murdered since the present surge of religious terrorism started. Terrorists alone are responsible for this carnage.

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